The

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BENEDICTINE MONACHISM

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Mgr. Ullathorne,
Bishop of Birmingham

The VATICAN COUNCIL

THE STORY TOLD FROM INSIDE IN BISHOP ULLATHORNE'S LETTERS

BY

DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER

MONK OF DOWNSIDE ABBEY

VOLUME II

WITH PORTRAITS

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From the 'Life of Bishop Ullathorne,' by permission of Messrs. Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd.

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THE COUNCIL
(Continued)

CHAPTER XVII

CHURCH AND STATE AT THE COUNCIL

THOUGH the relations of Church and State never in fact came under public discussion at the Council, the matter did give rise to an acute crisis that at one time bade fair to bring about an intervention of the Governments in the affairs of the Council. We have seen in Chapter VI that before the assembling of the Council the attitude towards it decided on by the Governments was one of non-intervention, so long as the issues being dealt with should be confined to the spiritual and religious order; but should any incursion be threatened into what the Governments looked on as the domain of the civil authority, they were prepared to take action in defence of the rights of the State.

The schema prepared by the theologians on the Church, 'de Ecclesia Christi', was circulated among the bishops on January 21. Such documents came under the law of secrecy, not to be divulged to any outside the Council. For all that, the twenty-one canons attached to the Constitution were printed in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* early in February, and the entire text in another German paper. Their appearance caused a turmoil in the circles antagonistic to the Church and the Council, and raised a furious storm in the secular press of the whole world, and the statesmen were greatly perturbed. The Austrian Foreign Minister, Count von Beust, a Protestant, wrote

on February 10 to the Austrian Ambassador at Rome to represent to Cardinal Antonelli that

> if such proposals should be defined an impassable gulf would be dug between the laws of the Church and the laws that govern modern society. In particular, many of the canons are of a nature to paralyse the civil legislative power, and threaten to destroy the respect all citizens should have for the laws of their country. The Austrian Government could not allow the promulgation of decrees of the kind.[1]

Other statesmen were similarly moved, notably Mr. Gladstone, the English Prime Minister. It is necessary therefore to give some account of the contents of the schema.

The document is printed in Mansi, III (51), 539-53, and in *Lac* 567-78, and lengthy Annotations follow the text. A full and careful analysis is given by Ollivier.[2]

The first ten chapters set forth the Catholic teaching on the Church; XI and XII are concerned with the Roman Pontiff, his primacy and the temporal dominion of the Holy See; the three concluding chapters deal with the question of Church and State. It may be useful to point out that of all this schema only chapter XI ever came before the Council: it was developed into the second dogmatic Constitution enacted on July 18.

Of the first portion, the summary treatise 'de Ecclesia', the following is the contents of the ten chapters:

I. The Church is the Mystical Body of Christ.
II. The Christian religion can be fully cultivated (excoli) only in the Church founded by Christ.
III. The Church is a true, perfect, spiritual, supernatural society—
IV. A visible society—

[1] *Lac* 1570.
[2] *L'Église et l'État au Concile du Vatican*, II, 102-14.

v. With a visible unity, so that religious bodies out of communion with this visible society are no parts of the Church of Christ.

vi. The Church is a society necessary for attaining to salvation.

vii. Out of the Church no one can be saved.

An explanation is made: This does not mean that those who labour under invincible ignorance concerning Christ and His Church will be for that reason condemned to everlasting punishment, as they are not thereby guilty of any fault in the eyes of God, who will not deny to anyone doing what in him lies the grace that he may attain to justification and everlasting life. But indifference in regard to religions is condemned.

viii. The Church is indefectible

ix. and infallible.

Her infallibility extends to all revealed truth, in Scripture and in Tradition,—i.e. to the Deposit of Faith—and to whatever is necessary for defend- and preserving it, even though not revealed.

So far there was nothing new: it was but a short assertion of what theologians of all Catholic schools, Gallicans [1] as well as Ultramontanes, had always taught in the treatise 'de Ecclesia', and most of it can be found in the writings of the Fathers. But chapter x, 'on the Power of the Church', was one of those that stirred up the fears of the statesmen:

x. The Church is not a society of equals: some in it are divinely instituted to sanctify, to teach, and to govern; others to be sanctified, to be taught, to obey. The power in the Church is of order or of jurisdiction. This jurisdiction is not only in the realm of conscience (forum internum) and sacramental, but external and public—it is absolute and entire, namely, legislative, judicial, and coercive. The Pastors have this power from Christ, and they exercise it freely and independently of any secular domination. With

[1] On Gallicans, see Chapter III.

full authority they rule the Church of God, alike by necessary laws binding in conscience, by decretorial judgements, and by salutary punishments on offenders, even against their will, not only in matters of faith and morals, worship and sanctification, but also in those concerning the external discipline and administration of the Church. Whence the Church is to be believed to be a perfect (i.e. fully complete) society. And this true and most blessed Church of Christ is none other than the one holy, Catholic, and apostolic Roman Church.

XI and XII were on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, without mention of infallibility; and on the temporal dominion of the Holy See.

XIII, XIV, XV were on Church and State, and were the ones that principally threatened to embroil the Council with the Governments.

XIII. *The Concord between the Church and Civil Society.*— God being the Author of the two societies, the Church and the State, it follows by the very nature of things that there is no conflict or opposition between them. The Church by sanctifying men makes them better citizens, and confirms the authority of rulers by making obedience to them matter of conscience. Rulers also it exhorts to rule justly and for the good of their subjects. This union of the two Societies is according to the law of God, that they mutually help each other, and that the State recognize and protect the laws and rights of the Church.

Therefore let not anyone say that the authority and rights of the Church cannot coexist with those of the State; or that for the best form of civil government the separation of State from Church is necessary; or that human society should be so constituted and ruled with regard to religion, as if religion were non-existent; or as if there were no difference between true and false religions.

Conflicts between Church and State would not arise were it remembered that the Church is concerned with things of a higher order, namely the eternal salvation of men; and that things that may seem useful for the temporal

Kingdom, but are a hindrance to salvation, are not true goods.

XIV. *The teaching of the Catholic Church on the right and the exercise of the Civil Power.*

Against various modern errors the Church teaches that every lawful authority, and therefore the civil authority, has God for its author; therefore obedience to lawful authority is of the law of God. Rulers on their side must rule according to the law of God, not according to utility, or public opinion, or the will of the multitude, if they be counter to the law of God.

But the judgement as to the rule of action, in as far as it concerns right moral conduct as to licitness or illicitness, for civil society and for public transactions, belongs to the supreme authority of the Church. In the way of eternal salvation, for all, subjects and rulers alike, the Church has been established by God as guide and teacher (dux et magistra). Therefore rulers must not deem it right, either in private or in public affairs, to violate for political reasons the laws and the rights of God and of holy Mother Church.

XV. *Certain particular rights of the Church in relation with Civil Society.*

Among violations of the rights of the Church on the part of civil Governments may be specially singled out:

(*a*) the laicizing of education, so that all consideration of religion is excluded, and the Church prohibited from all control and from providing instruction in Catholic religion;

(*b*) the idea that the State should control the working and the courses of studies in ecclesiastical colleges and seminaries wherein the clergy are trained;

(*c*) the suppression of religious Orders;

(*d*) the denial of the Church's right to hold property, and the confiscation of Church property.

There follow the twenty-one canons that were the chief rock of offence. Ollivier gives them in French. Canons I-XIII are attached to the first ten chapters, those on the nature and properties of the Church. They proclaim under anathema the heads of the doctrine briefly set out above; they do not in any point

go beyond the recognized Catholic principles on the Church held by all Catholic theological schools. XIV, XV, XVI belong to chapter XI, on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff; they are substantially the canons attached to the first three chapters of the Constitution on the Papacy finally enacted. The last five, XVII-XXI, belong to chapters XIII-XV, and deal with the thorny question of Church and State. They condemn the following propositions:

XVII. The independent ecclesiastic power of the Church and the supreme Civil Power cannot coexist together, in such sort that the rights of each be saved.

XVIII. The power necessary for governing civil society is not from God; subjection is not due to it by the law of God; it is against the natural liberty of man.

XIX. All rights among men are derived from the political State, and there is no authority but what is communicated by it.

XX. The supreme rule (norm) of conscience for public and social actions lies in the law of the political State, or in public opinion of men; the judgement of the Church, by which she pronounces on licitness and illicitness, does not reach to public and social actions; by virtue of the civil law that becomes lawful which is forbidden by divine or ecclesiastical law.

XXI. The laws of the Church have no binding force save in so far as they are confirmed by the sanction of the Civil Power; it belongs to the Civil Power, by virtue of its supreme authority, to judge and decree in matters of religion.

Such were the propositions condemned in the proposed canons on Church and State. When considered dispassionately they must surely, every one of them, appear indefensible to those who believe in God and accept religious sanctions. Indeed it may be said truly that the whole statement on Church and State was made with much discretion and moderation. It asserts that a union of Church and State is the most

ideal relation, the Church assisting the State, the State protecting the Church: it is for the Church to pronounce, if so be, that a law or an act of the State is counter to the law of God, and therefore unlawful and invalid. That the schema should have aroused such vehement protest on the part of von Beust and the other statesmen must be attributed to the excited state of public opinion and to a recrudescence of the fears caused by the Syllabus in 1864.

The publication of the schema at the beginning of February raised a ferment in the political and diplomatic worlds.[1] The letter of von Beust was communicated to the other Governments. The Bavarian Government, where Döllinger wielded a great influence in Court circles, had been from the beginning all for intervention in the Council; and now it made a move to induce the English Government to take the lead in an endeavour to bring about concerted action of the Governments. Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister; he was the close friend and great admirer of Döllinger, and so was altogether disposed to accept his ideas and take up his attitude in regard to the Council: this came out in Gladstone's pamphlet attack on the Council four years later.[2] And he was being played upon by Lord Acton, who already had great influence over him, who kept strongly urging him by letters from Rome to bring the English Government into action.[3] And so Gladstone was all in favour of a combine of the Governments to turn the Council away from questions of Church and State and Papacy, and in particular to block the Infallibility.

[1] The documents relating to the movements of the Governments are printed in *Lac* 1546-1607. The story is told by Granderath, II, Bk. iii, c. 11.

[2] See *Life of Bp. Ullathorne*, II, 88 ff.

[3] See *Lord Acton's Correspondence*, Vol. I, section 'Vatican Council and Decrees'.

But another current of influence was playing on the English Cabinet. Lord Clarendon was Foreign Secretary, and he was being plied by letters from Mr. Odo Russell, the English Government's Agent at Rome, in favour of abstention. Russell was not a Catholic, but his mother was, and he was wholly sympathetic with the ideas of the Majority, looking on the definition of infallibility as vital for the full spiritual freedom of the Catholic Church. And behind him, encouraging him to influence Clarendon, was Manning. That he might act on Russell the more effectively, he obtained from the Pope a dispensation from the law of secrecy, so that he could communicate freely to Russell everything that took place in the Council. And so, while Acton was sending to Gladstone information after the manner of Quirinus' Letters, of which he was part author, highly coloured, fanatical, extravagant; Russell was sending to Clarendon information derived from Manning that was more authentic, and served as the antidote. So effective were Russell's despatches that at the decisive Cabinet meeting, at which was discussed Gladstone's proposal for a demonstration by the Governments, Clarendon carried against Gladstone the policy of non-intervention. This is Manning's account:[1]

> The Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, supported the Bavarian proposal on the grounds and by the arguments supplied to him by Acton; but Lord Clarendon, better informed by Odo Russell, exposed one by one the fallacious statements and wilful distortions of fact. Finally, after a hot discussion, Mr. Gladstone was defeated in the Cabinet, the Bavarian proposal was rejected, and the Vatican Council was left in peace to do God's work.

There is no other record of this Cabinet encounter, but Russell was surely well-informed. It took place

[1] Purcell, *Life of Manning*, II, 436.

probably at end of March or beginning of April; for Acton's last letter to Gladstone is of March 20; though Russell and Manning were still writing a few days later.

It was Manning's great achievement thus to avert what was probably the most serious crisis for the Council, the threatened diplomatic move of the English Government to bring about a general interference of the Governments with the liberty of the Council. Though this, the most acute crisis, was averted, the possibilities of Governmental action were still alive, as will be seen just now. In particular, Mr. Gladstone kept the matter on his mind, and it came about that Dr. Ullathorne indirectly got into correspondence with him on the subject.

On May 6 Ullathorne wrote:

> The Governments of the world are getting alarmed under the notion that the Council is going to revive old claims of the Church over the civil power, and I have before me a letter of Mr. Gladstone's, privately addressed to a relative, recently converted, in which he says that with our unity, which we parade in face of other people's divisions, we must expect to be all held as participators; and that if we intrude beyond religious questions into the civil order, we must expect the *lex talionis*, that is, I suppose, an intrusion of the civil power into our religious affairs. This letter I am going to reply to.

Gladstone's letter was dated April 29:

> With regard to the Council, I was charged in the House of Commons with having abandoned instructions declared in 1866, in deference to the wishes of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authorities, and by way of closer approximation to their views. I replied that anyone who simply observed what was now going on in Rome must be aware that for any British Minister such approximation was impossible.
>
> The undeniable fact is that the proceedings at Rome are

producing effects in this country very unfavourable to our Roman Catholic fellow subjects; nor can it be wondered at, for a moral complicity is naturally supposed to prevail in a body which contrasts its own unity, even to parading, with the dissensions of others, and those who extend religious authority, or the claim of it, into the civic sphere must be prepared for the *lex talionis*.

In the simply religious bearings of the great Roman conflict I feel a deep interest; but this is quite a distinct matter, and I speak of it in a personal, not in an official capacity.

Ullathorne wrote May 6:

You were kind enough to show me yesterday a letter from Mr. Gladstone, in which he observes that 'those who extend religious authority, or the claim of it, into the civic sphere must be prepared for the *lex talionis*.' This remark has been made under the impression that the œcumenical Council of the Vatican is inclined thus to extend religious authority. This however is an erroneous impression, although it is shared by other statesmen with your distinguished correspondent.

Let me first state facts as they stand, afterwards I will enter into the specific question.

That the Council might not waste its time after assembling, in devising and preparing the subjects to be entertained, for two years previous certain preparatory commissioners were appointed, consisting of theologians and canonists, not of Rome merely, but deputed by the bishops of the different hierarchies throughout the world. Each of the four commissions was presided over by a cardinal. The result of their labours was a certain number of schemata respecting faith, church discipline, and the regulation of the religious Orders. But those schemata are neither the Acts of the Holy See nor the Acts of the Council; they are simply drafts of matter accompanied with annotations. It is a curious fact, illustrating what I have said, that when distributed to the members of the Council they were as new to the body of cardinals as they were to the bishops. It is equally a fact deserving of remark, that as the commissions

were chiefly formed of learned professors, their work is mostly found to contain a quantity of views and references that belong more to the past than to the present and the future. Hence the schemata have to undergo extensive modification at the hands of the bishops in the light of their knowledge and experience of present exigencies. Thus in the constitution already passed and promulgated, the schema, though concerning elementary points respecting natural religion and the foundations of faith, has been reduced to about a third of the original matter, and the text has been changed throughout. So is it likely to be with nearly all the schemata that may be brought under discussion.

Hitherto nothing whatever has been brought into discussion relating to the bearings of the spiritual upon the temporal authority, nor is anything of that kind contemplated in the future of the Synod. This I say, not merely of my personal knowledge, but I have put the question to one of the Cardinal Presidents of the Council with express reference to Mr. Gladstone's remark in his letter to you, and he replied that nothing of that kind was contemplated. I believe that Cardinal Antonelli, in a letter that is now before the public, has made a similar declaration. There is no question at this day of claiming authority for the Holy See or the Church, such as the medieval constitution of Christendom led Pope Boniface VIII to put forth.

It is true that in a schema that has got out into the world, there occur certain chapters where the rights of the ecclesiastical and of the civil authorities and their mutual concord are treated of, but this part of that schema has not and is not likely for a long time to come before the Council. This portion of the schema cannot therefore be considered either as the Act of the Holy See or as the Act of the Council. It simply incorporates the ideas of a limited body of theologians and canonists on that subject; of men, that is to say, whose minds were filled with the past. From what I hear on all sides, and think myself, those chapters, whenever they may come before the Council, will undergo considerable and substantial alterations.

What is really and solely contemplated, and on this matter I speak the sense of the one of the Cardinal Presidents

before referred to, as well as my own, is this : to define the duties of Catholic Christians towards constituted authority in the civil order, as that duty rests upon the natural and the divine law. Those duties are not in diminution of, nor do they imply interference with, any constituted civil authority, in its own legitimate sphere ; but, on the contrary, they tend to support and induce obedience to its lawful behests. It is thus the Church condemns conspiracies and machinations against lawful and constituted authority, whether that authority be the spiritual or the temporal.

Of course a man must carry his Christian conscience into all the duties and relations of his life ; and that conscience, formed in the light of the natural and the revealed law, requires him to be honest and faithful to his principles in his political as in his other dealings with society. And it is the duty of the Church to keep the light of the religious law before the eyes of all her children. But there is certainly no intention to put forth claims on the part of the Church to interfere with the full and lawful action of civil society in what purely concerns civil and social matters. The Church asserts her right to her own free and independent action in what concerns her own spiritual affairs, and in her own internal government, as a religious society distinct from that of the political state. But within these limits she stops.

Of course there are mutual relations involving mutual duties between Catholic States and the Church, where the Church has a State recognition, especially where concordats exist ; and the Church cannot avoid taking cognizance of these mutual duties. But such cognizance cannot be generalized and interpreted as applicable to States where such relations do not exist, and which are not even Catholic.

His correspondent wrote :

My Lord : As soon as I received the letter you were so good as to send me, I forwarded it to my cousin, to whom I am sure it will give great satisfaction. When I hear anything from him in reply I will not fail to let your lordship know, though I think that most probably Mr. Gladstone will address himself to you.

However, Ullathorne heard no more.

It may be said that Dr. Ullathorne's prognostication of what would have happened to the schema ' de Ecclesia ' had it come before the Council, was surely correct: it would have fared no better at the hands of the bishops than did the schema on Catholic Faith. On February 22, after it had been in the hands of the bishops for a month, they were given ten days to write out and lodge with the deputation *de Fide* any criticisms and suggestions they might see good to make on the first ten chapters, the portion dealing with the general theology ' de Ecclesia ', not including the Papacy (c. xi). The result was 124 papers of Observations, many of them the productions of groups of bishops, as many as ten or even twenty; so that it is no exaggeration to say that some three hundred bishops took part in the effort to emend the schema. And many of the papers covered a large number of different points in different parts of the schema. When all were scheduled by the theologians of the deputation the Analytic Synopsis covers just 200 columns of Mansi,[1] and the Observations number 600, including some complete rewritings of whole chapters, and even of the entire schema: one such was put in by Bishop Ketteler of Mayence, to which several German bishops adhered; and another by the Dominican Cardinal Guidi and the Dominican group. The schema was very ruthlessly criticized and badly pulled to pieces, and by no means only by the Minority; Majority bishops called for drastic modifications: for instance one of the principal series of Observations was by Cardinal Pecci and a group of Italian bishops. This portion of the schema never came before the Council, or even before the deputation *de Fide*, so that nothing came of the great volume of work put into it by so many bishops; but to read the episcopal comments on the work of

[1] III (51), 731-930.

the theologians and canonists is a highly instructive lesson in theology.

To return to the Governments. The danger of their interference was not finally removed by the refusal of the English Government to take the initiative. The most serious threatening lay with France. On January 2, 1870, a liberal Government was formed, the last hope of saving the Empire of Napoleon III from the waves of unpopularity that were threatening to engulf it, by mitigating its autocratic character and putting it on a more liberal and popular basis, as a constitutional monarchy. M. Émile Ollivier became Prime Minister, in fact, if not in name, and Count Daru became Foreign Minister. Ollivier we have already met in Chapter VI; though not a Catholic, he was well disposed to the Catholic religion and the Church. Daru was a declared and practising Catholic, of the group of Catholic liberals, the friend of Falloux, de Broglie, Montalembert, Dupanloup. We have seen in Chapter VI that before the Council Ollivier had been mainly instrumental in bringing about the abstention of the French Government from any participation in the Council, even by sending an ambassador as at Trent: he held the objects for which the Council was convoked, and even the infallibility, to be purely internal religious issues, with which the State was not concerned; his solicitude was to secure an harmonious working of the Catholic Church in the conditions of the modern State and the principles of '89, as existing in France under the Empire. He maintained this same attitude as Prime Minister, and impressed it on most of his colleagues. But Daru was strong for a policy of intervention, to preclude the chance of the propositions of the Syllabus being decreed, or any affirmation of principles in conflict with modern States as actually constituted; and he shared the fears of von Beust as to the tendencies of the schema 'de Ecclesia'.

And so, on February 21, the Cabinet was startled by Daru announcing that on the previous day he had, with the approval of the Emperor, despatched to the French Ambassador at Rome a Memorandum, to be presented to Cardinal Antonelli, the Secretary of State, and by him to the Holy Father,—and this without the knowledge of his colleagues or even of the Prime Minister.[1] The natural outcome of such procedure would have been Daru's resignation; but Ollivier says they did not want to face a break in the Cabinet so soon after the formation of the new Government, and in so critical a state of French political life. Therefore a compromise was made: the Ambassador was telegraphed to, not to present the despatch; and Ollivier undertook to tone down Daru's text and moderate its terms, so that it was agreed to, albeit with misgivings, by the Cabinet. In this amended form it was presented to Antonelli by the Ambassador in the first days of March.[2] It set forth:

So long as the matters before the Council were concerned with things of the purely spiritual and religious order, the French Government had determined to stand aside and leave the Council in untrammelled freedom. But the recently published schema and canons 'de Ecclesia' show that matters of a mixed order affecting the State are going to be discussed. The Emperor's Government, as heir by the Concordat to all the rights and privileges in regard to the Church enjoyed by the old Monarchy, has the right to make known its views and wishes to the Holy See and the Council by the presence of an ambassador at the Council. This right has been waived; but the Government claims the right of making known its views on the

[1] The story of the following transactions is told in an interesting and very living chapter by Ollivier, *L'Église et l'État au Concile du Vatican*, II, c. vii. The principal documents are printed in *Lac* 1546-69.

[2] *Lac* 1553; Ollivier, op. cit., II, 551.

aforesaid mixed questions, which incontestably touch the political order.

They may be reduced to two points :

(1) The infallibility of the Church is made to extend not only to everything contained in the Deposit of Faith, but to everything necessary for guarding the Deposit. That is to say, not only what has been revealed, but facts of history, of philosophy, of science, when judged necessary for the defence and exposition of revelation, are embraced in the Church's prerogative of infallibility.

(2) The Church being a divine and perfect (i.e. complete) society, her power reaches to externals, and she is absolute in the legislative, judicial, and penal orders : this power should be exercised freely, independently of any secular power. And as there is question of declaring the Pope infallible, all these powers of the Church will be vested in him.

The consequences that flow from these principles may be stated thus : there are subject to the supreme magisterium of the Church, the constitutive principles of society ; the political rights and duties of citizens ; their electoral and municipal rights : also whatever in the legislative and judicial order contains what is licit or illicit in view of the natural or divine or even ecclesiastical law ; and so marriage, the family, the civil rights and duties of married people, of fathers, of children, contracts, means of acquisition, prescription, the rules of administration and of the public functions of officials, the rights of corporations, education, taxation, peace and war, conquest :—all this is nothing else than the consecration of the supreme authority of the Church over society, and the absolute subordination of all the political and civil rights of every authority whatsoever to the Papacy, proclaimed infallible.

It would seem that Rome has not sufficiently considered the profound impression made throughout the whole world by the mere enunciation of such doctrines, and the danger of reviving them in our day, after the changed ideas and the events of the last hundred years.

The Governments therefore are bound in duty to pray the Holy Father, there being question of political and not

religious interests, to hear them. We pray therefore that such mixed proposals be communicated to the Governments before being discussed at the Council, that their comments may be heard.

Antonelli's reply was given March 19; it was a long and very diplomatic document in Italian: [1]

After thanking the French Government for holding Rome for the Pope, and for hitherto respecting the liberty of the Council, he said it passed his comprehension how such an exaggerated and mistaken idea of the import of the schema and canons could be entertained. There is nothing new in the doctrine on the Church; it is what has been taught by General Councils and by the Catholic schools in all countries, without let or hindrance from the Governments. Much less is it possible to agree with what is said as to the character and extension of the canons: there is not attributed to the Church or the Pope any direct or absolute power over the whole sphere of political rights; nor should the subordination of the civil power to the spiritual be understood in the sense of the despatch, but in quite another.

The Church has no thought of exercising any direct power over the political rights of the State. But as she has from God the sublime mission of guiding men, alike individually and as constituted in society, to a supernatural end, she has thereby the authority and the duty of judging of the morality and the justice of actions, interior and exterior, as to their conformity with the natural and divine laws. And as no act can be exempt from this character of morality and justice, it follows that the judgement of the Church, although directly bearing on the morality of the action, indirectly reaches to all the things with which it is bound up. But this is not equivalent to an intervention directly in political affairs, which according to the order established by God and by the teaching of the Church,

[1] *Lac* 1555. Manning gives it in English in an Appendix to *The Vatican Council and its Definitions*, in the volume *Petri Privilegium*.

belong to the temporal power. Consequently it is not the case that the Church exercises a direct interference on the constitutive principles of the Governments, on the political rights of citizens, on the duties of the State, and the other things named in the despatch. But no civil society can subsist without a supreme regulating principle of the morality of its acts and its laws : and the Church has from God this sublime mission.

Moreover, no decrees made by the Council on relations of Church and State will make any difference to the relations settled by Concordat between the Holy See and France and other Governments.

It seemed good to reproduce this, evidently carefully formulated, statement of the 'indirect power' claimed by the Church in regard to the laws of the State. Ollivier looked on it as a bare reassertion of the old claim to 'indirect power', formulated by Bellarmine, and as wholly inadmissible by the Governments. But if it be compared with Bellarmine's, the profound difference will appear. Bellarmine's fundamental proposition ran : 'We assert that the Pontiff as Pontiff, though he has not any merely temporal power, yet has, in order to spiritual good, supreme power of disposing of the temporal affairs of all Christians.' And he reduces this principle to practice by asserting for the Pope the power of legislating over the head of the temporal ruler, enacting or abrogating laws of the State, when the salvation of souls requires it ; also of deposing princes and handing over their kingdoms to others, for the spiritual good of their subjects.[1] Quite other was Antonelli's claim, that the Church has the right of judging a law of the State to be against the law of God, and therefore not to be obeyed. Such a claim goes back to the Apostles : 'We must obey God rather than man.' A clear in-

[1] See Fr. Brodrick's recent book, *Blessed Robert Bellarmine*, I, c. xii.

stance are the divorce laws of many modern States: the Church declares them to be against the law of God, and that therefore marriages of divorced persons, no matter what the State may allow, are unlawful and invalid. There are not many such clashes. By a recent decree the Church has made the civil marriage of Catholics invalid; but Catholics may comply with the law by going through the subsidiary civil ceremony required for the legal recognition of marriages by the State.

Daru's Memorandum had been communicated to the various Governments; they applauded it, but were not prepared to join in any common action. But the announcement made on March 6, that the question of the Pope's infallibility was to be brought on at the Council, stirred them up to fresh diplomatic activity, and there were renewed threatenings and fears of intervention. These fears are reflected in a letter of Dr. Northcote, one of the Oxford converts, President of Oscott College, Birmingham, who was in Rome as Bishop Ullathorne's theologian:

> March 11. There are reports outside the Council very rife, about the diplomatic body being much excited and very busy with the schema *de infallibilitate*, which it is said was despatched to Paris by a special messenger twenty-four hours before the bishops got it. *How* the French Embassy got it, of course, nobody knows but the printers. Excitement is very high amongst others also besides the diplomats.

So threatening did the attitude of Governments become during the second half of March, that Antonelli, as Cardinal Secretary of State, was thoroughly alarmed; so much so, as we learn from M. Icard's Diary,[1] that he got together the cardinals who were his chief advisers on affairs of State, communicated to them his fears, and on March 25 went with them to the

[1] Mourret, *Concile du Vatican*, p. 267.

Pope, and strongly urged the withdrawal of the infallibility question. Pio Nono's answer in effect was: Full steam ahead—'I have the holy Virgin with me: I will go on!'

Daru and the French Cabinet were not satisfied with Antonelli's reply to the Memorandum, and another Memorandum was prepared. Daru was bent on claiming the right of sending a special ambassador, as at Trent, to be admitted to the Council and to lay before the Fathers the ideas and fears of the French Government regarding the 'mixed questions' of Church and State; and having done so, to withdraw. The other Governments were invited to make common cause with the French; but Vienna, Berlin, Florence, Madrid, while sympathizing with the French move, firmly refused to send ambassadors to the Council. Ollivier himself would not fall in with Daru's idea: it would be exposing the French Government to a humiliating rebuff, unless the claim were made effective by being backed with a threat of withdrawing the French troops from Rome, a thing which he and the majority of the Cabinet, and Daru himself, regarded as out of the question while the Council was sitting. Finally it was determined to present the new Memorandum to the Holy Father himself, as President of the Council, begging him to lay it before the Council. It was dated April 6:[1]

It says that the explanations offered are not satisfying, because they refuse to words their natural and true meaning, so that it is impossible to escape from the conclusion that the purpose of the schema 'de Ecclesia' is to re-establish in the whole world the ascendency of doctrines subordinating civil society to the sway of the clergy.

[The argument of the former Memorandum is reenforced.] Such are the maxims that the Council will be asked to proclaim in the face of the nineteenth century; and

[1] *Lac* 1563; Ollivier, op. cit., II, 559.

as such maxims are not admitted anywhere throughout Europe, a universal anathema will be cast, in the name of the Holy Father, on all civil institutions and societies.

It is said indeed that the Church declares abstract truths, but does not insist on their being applied; if these doctrines are in disaccord with existing laws, this disaccord relates only to principles; in practice they accommodate themselves to all forms of government and to all legislations.

But can it be said that in the 40,000 parish churches of France men are to be taught that they are free to do what they are not free to believe? that they should think in one way, but may act in another? Such a distinction would inflict on consciences the most painful torture.

It goes on to enforce the perils, for the Church and for society, of any conflict between the decrees of the Church and the principles of modern States and civil societies, which have come to stay.

In estimating the fears expressed in these Memorandums we must take count of the extreme line of antagonism to modern social and political institutions taken up by the French neo-Ultramontanes, and championed by the *Univers;* it was in reality the controversy on the Syllabus over again. The *Civiltà* had first laid down the distinction, reprobated by Daru, between *thesis* and *hypothesis;* what could not be held as a *thesis*, a principle intrinsically right, might be held as a *hypothesis*, allowable, and even best, in given conditions. Thus the condemnation by the Syllabus of freedom of worship is a *thesis*, asserting that the ideal is unity in the true worship, albeit freedom of worship may be allowed as a *hypothesis*. The *Tablet* spoke similarly on the eve of the Council:[1]

Protestants love to represent the Church as meditating an aggressive movement against the fundamental principles of modern society. Catholics reply that the Church is but reasserting and enforcing a certain speculative doctrine,

[1] Oct. 30, 1869.

which no one thinks under present circumstances of reducing to practice. The doctrine in question consists of such particulars as these; that liberty of worship and of the press are quite out of harmony with any normal state of Christian society, and can only be defended by alleging the existence of a deplorable social degradation.[1]

The French Ambassador was to present the Memorandum to the Holy Father himself, but this was delayed, owing to Holy Week, until April 22, after it had already got into the press. But Mgr. Forcade, Bishop of Nevers, one of the middle party of French bishops, who had been in Paris, had at the request of Daru undertaken to see the Holy Father privately and explain to him the attitude of the Government. He wrote to Ollivier on April 7 that he had had on that day a long, intimate, and most affectionate audience.[2] Forcade 'ventured to insinuate' that the best way of avoiding the difficulties would be to postpone as long as possible the discussion of the schema 'de Ecclesia' and the whole matter of Church and State that was so irritating, till minds had had time to cool down; and so not allow the question to come on that year. This proposal was better received by the Pope than Forcade had hoped for. The Pope's desire was to avoid trouble, whether for the Church or for the Governments, over the matter of the relations of Church and State. Ollivier is very likely right in surmising that the decision to give precedence to the question of the Papacy before the rest of the schema, was motived partly by the desire to shelve subjects that might antagonize the Governments.

When the Ambassador on April 22 presented the Memorandum, the Pope said he would consider it carefully, but he could not officially lay it before the

[1] This sounds like W. G. Ward.
[2] *Lac* 1561; Ollivier, op. cit., II, 214.

Council. At this juncture Daru resigned his place in the Cabinet, not on this issue, but on political grounds, and Ollivier for the time being took over the portfolio of foreign affairs. He at once reversed Daru's policy of intervention in the Council, which he had never liked or believed in; and the telegram went from Paris to Rome: 'Daru se retire, Ollivier remplace, Concile libre.'

And so it was; from that time forth there was no menace of the Governments interfering with the full liberty of the Council.

CHAPTER XVIII

FURTHER INFALLIBILITY MOVEMENTS

All through January, as recorded in Chapter XI, the signing of petitions and counter-petitions had been going on over the issue of bringing before the Council the burning question of the Pope's infallibility. At the end of the month these petitions were all laid before the Pope, who refused to receive them himself, and ordered them to be handed over to the Congregation *de postulatis*, whose function it was to consider and report on proposals made by bishops for any matter to be laid before the Council, the decision resting with the Pope. The Congregation met on February 9. It consisted of twenty-six members, nominated by the Pope. Three were of the Minority: Cardinal Rauscher, Jussef Melchite-Greek Patriarch of Antioch, and the Archbishop of Turin. Of the rest were Cardinals de Bonnechose and Cullen, Archbishops Spalding, Manning, and Dechamps, and Martin of Paderborn. The minutes are in print.[1] Rauscher alone gave a definitely negative vote. Jussef, after expressing his belief in the Pope's infallibility, went on to say that his personal experience of the Greek Orthodox Church satisfied him that the definition certainly would be an obstacle in the way of reunion and of conversions. Bonnechose and one or two more hoped that the definition would be couched in such terms as to secure that the greatest number possible might vote for it.

[1] Mansi, III (51), 687.

Finally there was, with the one dissentient voice of Rauscher, a unanimous affirmative vote recommending the thing to be proposed at the Council.

It was not until March 1 that the Pope confirmed the decision; and on March 6 the public announcement was made that the infallibility was to come before the Council. On that day was distributed the formula on the Pope's infallibility prepared beforehand by the commission of theologians in case it should be needed, and ten days were allowed to the bishops for formulating in writing and lodging with the deputation *de Fide* any animadversions they might see fit to make on chapter XI of the schema 'de Ecclesia', on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, along with the addition on the infallibility: on a remonstrance from several bishops the time limit was extended to the 25th.[1]

Meantime all through February and March the extra-conciliar agitations among the bishops over the infallibility, both for and against, were going on with ever-growing intensity. The activities of Mgr. Dupanloup were prodigious, and excited the astonishment of all. Manning long after said:[2]

> I do not know, I cannot even guess the number of secretaries employed by Mgr. Dupanloup—[Ullathorne says six]—but I know that day by day, week by week, bales of baneful literature—letters, pamphlets, circulars, appeals—were despatched to every centre of intrigue in Europe—notably to Paris and to Munich.

So vehemently were spirits moved that on February 7 the Bishop of Laval wrote to the director of the *Semaine religieuse* of Laval, and ordered him to insert without alteration a letter in which he declared before

[1] For chap. XI of the schema and the addition, see Mansi, III (51), 543, 701; *Lac* 571, 641.

[2] Purcell, *Manning*, II, 429.

God that he would rather fall dead on the spot than follow the Bishop of Orleans in the 'unqualifiable manœuvres' that he hears and sees going on.[1]

Fortunately there is to hand a revelation of the inner mind and real spirit of the Opposition leaders in letters written to Newman by Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry, one of the most active and determined bishops of the Minority. The Observations he put in on the proposed definition state that as professor of theology he had taught the papal infallibility as a true theological opinion;[2] but he was altogether opposed to its being defined as an article of Faith. His letters speak for themselves; the first was in January:

We have made a little reunion at the Palazzo Salviati. Cardinal Rauscher of Vienna, Archbishop of Paris, Bishop of Grenoble, Bishop of Orleans, Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, Archbishop Connolly of Halifax, Strossmayer of Bosnia, Ketteler of Mayence, the Bishops of Ivrea and [? *illegible*] representing north and south Italy, and I.

It is well appointed with the sharp intellect of Mgr. Darboy, the ardent zeal of Dupanloup, the massive intellect of Ketteler, the strategic ability of Ginoulhiac of Grenoble, the Irish slap-dash of Halifax, and the brilliant eloquence of Strossmayer; all presided over by the aristocratic gentleness of Cardinal Rauscher. We are all thoroughly of one mind. Manning works hard and cleverly on the other side.

Feb. 3. Never before did I feel anxiety for the Church. Now it is all but a torment. 'Modicae fidei, quare dubitasti?' conscience says to me. I try to be prepared for every event, and to trust in the promises; but the loss of souls who are near and dear to me, the fear of schism and of secret heresy, make me miserable night and day. I can only speak of what I know extra-conciliariter. A large number have put in the postulatum you saw in the *Times*. I think 500 would vote for it. The Pope will not take

[1] *Lac* 1317. [2] Mansi, III (51), 1026.

the initiative, but he will be only too glad to go with the majority. We have at the utmost 200 on our side; but we represent the Church *militant*, in Hungary, Germany, half of France, England (except Westminster and Beverly, perhaps another), all North America. From Ireland I am only sure of one with me. The majority represents the Curia Romana, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Ireland, South America. It is composed of men who have not come into conflict with the unbelieving mind, or into contact with the intellectual mind of the time. When I read the school of theology in which they were trained I am not surprised that they treat every doubter as a heretic.

As our adversaries are aggressive we hope they may be divided in their counsels. There are some signs of this. As we are on the defensive and for a simple negative, we are united. They say we must sustain the authority of the Pope against Maret and Döllinger: silence would be a victory for his enemies. This is unfair, for they made the position by first giving the challenge.

We do not know what side the Orientals will take; they smoke their pipes and hold their tongues. We must remember that they are for the most part Propaganda students.

It will be a comfort in any case that the decision will come from the constitutional tribunal, to which all must bow. The greater the majority the better, if it is to be: yet I hope. The Holy Ghost has many ways at His disposal, besides votes.

My mission is to talk to every man I meet—cardinal, bishop, or monsignore. I try to frighten our opponents and to encourage our friends, for there are many timid. I am the voice of one crying out, not in the wilderness, nor in the Council, but in the streets and the salons.

The Pope's blessing to me a few days ago was significant: 'Dominus benedicat te et *dirigat*'—one of His stray sheep!

The following Moriarty wrote without doubt in view of words in Newman's famous letter to Ullathorne: 'With these thoughts before me, I am continually asking myself whether I ought not to make my feelings public.'

Feb. 20. I am not in favour of your publishing your views on the great question. If it seems good to the Holy Ghost and to the Council that the definition should be made, it would be dangerous to have the public mind prejudiced against it. Would it not be a difficult task to raise obstacles to the definition, and at the same time to prepare the people for obedience and belief? I fear that Maret and Döllinger have done us harm. Moderate men have said to me that they would never have harboured the idea of definition of papal infallibility, only for these attacks on the Holy See. I know you could and would write in a different tone and sense; yet the effect would be to render submission more difficult. With me the *palmare argumentum* against definition is that in an unbelieving age it will be 'in ruinam multorum in Israel'. No doubt other arguments against the *definibility* of the doctrine press heavily upon me.

As to our prospects I can say nothing. The Majority is silent in its strength. The Pope is resolute and obstinate. Yet we are a compact body. Germans, all with two exceptions. Americans, nearly all. English, with only two exceptions as far as I know. We hope to have some Easterns, and we hope there may be many orthodox *in occulto*.

He mentions Ullathorne and Clifford: They are your sincere friends, and they entirely agree with us on the great question. Ullathorne is a model of prudence. Clifford is the very soul of chivalry—no braver bishop in Rome.

About Ullathorne he was mistaken, as all the letters show and the observations he put in. It illustrates the hasty judgements apt to be formed on either side, the wish being father to the thought.

At the same time Fr. Whitty, S.J., wrote to Newman. He had been a prominent secular priest under Wiseman, and the first Provost of the Westminster Chapter, 1850; but he had entered the Society of Jesus, and was now in Rome as Moriarty's theologian. He was himself a sober Ultramontane on the old theological lines, and was one of Newman's close friends and supporters. During the Council he was

appointed Provincial of the English Province S.J. He wrote :

Feb. 23. It was said in the *Tablet* and other papers that 410 bishops signed for the definition. There are 700 bishops in Rome. If we put down 100 or 150 as not signing the postulatum from no wish to oppose either doctrine or definition, but simply from prudence, you will still have a minority of 150 against. This is very large and very important, especially when one takes into account the variety of churches whence these bishops come. I have myself a great hope, increased by experience as time goes on, that some means will be found at last of solving the problem, i.e. of securing doctrine without at the same time wounding weak consciences or placing obstacles in the way of souls outside the Church. In spite of all the loud talking and loud writing that has gone on outside, everything confirms me in the hope that nothing will finally be carried inside with a high hand, or in opposition to a widespread and reasonable repugnance. Such at all events are my calculations and hopes, and I write them to you, that you may not heed reports that are circulated. It is almost impossible to get at the truth even here, because so many speak or even think as they wish.

Another letter of his may fitly be given here. He had to come away from Rome, to take on the office of Provincial, at the middle of May, when the infallibility debate was at its hottest. On May 15 he wrote to Newman, and after mentioning Moriarty, he went on :

Poor dear fellow, he is working hard, and the work is for him one of great anxiety, and even one may say of anguish often. Dr. Furlong too [of Ferns] suffers not a little. I have come away from Rome, after having had a good opportunity of observing the working of the Council, far more impressed with the deep conscientious love of truth displayed, than the human passions of which so much is said and written.

In Chapter VIII the beginning of the controversy between Dupanloup and Dechamps has been narrated, how on the eve of the opening of the Council Dechamps had published a long open letter to Dupanloup, combating the latter's *Observations* (*Lac* 1286). Dupanloup's reply did not appear until March 1, when he published a letter that was in fact a considerable theological tractate dealing with the entire range of the subject, the fullest and most forcible presentation of the case against defining the infallibility.[1] In only twelve days Dechamps responded in a yet longer letter, a tract of 80 pages.[2]

These were the protagonists: but other combatants entered the lists, and soon a pamphlet war broke out that ran its course till the end. During March and April pamphlets and tracts were issued on either side, and various aspects of the case against defining were set forth in tracts by Rauscher, Schwarzenberg, Ketteler, Kenrick, and by Hefele, who argued strongly on the case of Pope Honorius.

One of the points put in the forefront by Dupanloup was the obstacle the definition of infallibility would be to the return to the Fold of Protestants and Eastern Schismatics, and also the difficulties it would create in the spread of the Gospel among the Heathen: 'Let us have pity on all these,' he cried, 'and not set up barriers and dig gulfs between them and us.' Mgr. Bonjean, O.M.I., vicar apostolic in Ceylon, addressed an open letter to him: that his twenty-three years of missionary work among Hindus and Buddhists entitled him to speak; the adherents of these ancient Indian religions have so great a sense of authority in religion that for them an infallible authority is bound up with the very idea of religion; and so they would be attracted by the idea of an infallible

[1] *Lac* 1320-39. [2] *Lac* 1340-52, the salient pieces.

Pope.[1] A number of vicars apostolic labouring in India, China, Japan, and other mission fields, associated themselves with Bonjean.

The General Congregations, which had been suspended since February 22, were resumed on March 18 for the discussion of the revised Constitution on the Catholic Faith (see Chap. XV). A rumour had gone about that a *coup d'état* was being planned for the 19th, to carry the papal infallibility by acclamation. Ullathorne speaks of it on 20th :

> About *the* question, all the writings have gone in [i.e. the Observations of the bishops], and the special deputation is busy with them. It got round that an attempt was to be made to carry it by acclamation ; but such a protest was sent in by certain bishops, declaring that they would quit the Council under protest if it were done, that it was at once replied that it would be as desired, though without promising as to the future.

The bishops who put in the protest were the three Americans, Kenrick, Purcell, and Fitzgerald, and Moriarty. They said :[2]

> It has come to our ears that a petition is being made that the schema on the Pope's infallibility, recently circulated, be put to the next General Congregation and be carried without discussion. We cannot think that such a proposal could be tolerated by the Presidents, or approved of by any but madmen (insensati). But we give notice that if, *per impossible*, such a thing were done, we would straightway quit the Council, and make public the reason of our departure.

At the Presidents' private session the next day they answered : ' No one thinks of such a thing but madmen ' (insensati).[3]

[1] *Lac* 1352. [2] Mansi, III (51), 714.
[3] Granderath, II, Bk. ii, c. 3, p. 291.

This suspicion of the thing being suddenly carried by acclamation, as forecast in the unfortunate *Civiltà* article, haunted the minds of the Minority like a bogy. Manning declared positively that the responsible promoters of the infallibility had no thought of such a thing—they wanted a 'definition'.[1] On January 3 some such thing seemed prognosticated for the Public Session of the 6th. Again on February 20, impatient at the slow progress of the Council, Veuillot exhorted the Fathers to hasten on to the definition, because once this was achieved affairs could proceed much faster, as pontifical acts could take the place of conciliar deliberation.[2]

Relying on Icard's Diary, Mourret hesitates as to whether the fears were wholly devoid of foundation, and he quotes a letter of one of the French bishops, that on arrival at Rome he found rumours, with the characteristics of incontestable likelihood, that there was serious question of declaring the Pope infallible by acclamation. 'I do not know if the project was really on foot; but on two occasions I was witness of attempts to carry it into execution.'[3] That the Minority had a constant fear of it is unquestionable, and Mourret says it was one of the factors colouring their whole attitude throughout the Council.[4]

The following notes on the progress of the great controversy are from Ullathorne's letters:

March 20. A cardinal assured me *the* doctrine would be modified from the schema and rendered theologically pre-

[1] *Vatican Council and its Definitions*, p. 36.

[2] Similarly the *Univers* of Feb. 9: Le temps est court. Le Concile ne peut se prolonger indéfiniment. Il n'y a au fond qu'une question devenue urgente et inévitable, dont la décision faciliterait le cours et la décision de tous les autres, dont le retard paralyse tout. Sans cela rien n'est commencé, ni même abordable; avec cela tout peut marcher et se conclure.

[3] Mourret, *Concile*, p. 135. [4] Ibid.

cise. This is what I contended for in my votum to the deputation, refusing to vote for anything vague and undefined, for what is undefined is unlimited, and would give rise to endless fanaticism. It will not come on for discussion yet awhile ; although on paper, in the way of proposed amendments, it has already been pretty well discussed, and the substance of what has been sent in will come to us all in print before the discussion begins.

April 1. The Pope takes every opportunity of expressing his views on the infallibility, both in audiences and in letters that at once get into the papers. He has quite changed his old policy on our arrival, when he professed neutrality before the Council.

April 4. I am glad to say that milder counsels seem again to be getting the ascendancy about *the* question. The 130 writings sent in on that subject, some signed by considerable numbers, have had a wakening effect. The discussion can't possibly begin until towards Pentecost, if things are to go on in their order. Scarcely can it come on before Pentecost, or not much before. Meanwhile, I hope a compromise will be effected. I hear the Pope has said he thought it was more ripe for definition.

April 19. A most remarkable pamphlet on the infallibility question, in folio 63 pp. in double column [by Ketteler of Mayence], has just reached the hands of the bishops. It was detained fifteen days at the Post Office ; a remonstrance was made to Cardinal Antonelli, and it was let go. I believe the argument was that no opposition was put to the circulation of pamphlets amongst the bishops, not printed in Rome, but that the Government could not lend its services to their circulation. Hefele has published a pamphlet on Honorius which I do not think fairly grasps the breadth of the question. Cardinal Schwarzenberg has published, or rather circulated amongst the bishops another pamphlet, which is partly on the same line as Ketteler's and full of suggestions, but has not the same power as the other. The sign which these two productions hold out is a certain approach towards a moderate and modified definition. I have been trying to put my own ideas on the middle

term on paper, but only for my own use. There has been a marked turn towards moderation for a week past, and the *Civiltà* has come out without a single article, such as made the last number a caution to all moderate men who feel what is the spirit of the Gospel, and what it is for religious men to set an example that justifies the coarse polemics of the newspapers. I do not see much of Cardella, or I should tell him a piece of my mind.

Everybody asks me how Dr. Newman's letter got out. Of course the infallibilists regret it, the oppositionists admire it, and it has had a certain influence in combination with other demonstrations in urging in the direction of prudence.

April 20. To-day a cardinal informed me, through a third person, that the Pope has decided on bringing on the infallibility question after the Session, the first thing, and out of its course. The reason is that there is so much agitation in the world and in the episcopate about it, and that it would be very inconvenient for the episcopate to return to their sees after the suspension of the Council with this agitation and suspense to deal with. I think he is right, as matters stand. Pamphlets continue to pour out, printed abroad and distributed here, on both sides of the question. Two very clever ones have just come out, one from Bishop Ketteler, the other from the Archbishop of Malines. I see my own course very clearly, thank God, and am in full peace about it. I stand for the scientific definition perfected by theology, the result of three hundred years of scientific thought, familiar in our theologies, and with all its scientific limitations and conditions already complete and ready in hand.

April 24. The question of the Little Catechism comes on for its second discussion, after being reformed in the deputation of discipline, next; and when that is finished, the Pope is determined to bring on the great question out of its turn. The world will soon hear a great deal about it. Whether it should come on now or in its turn has been the subject of a good deal of diplomacy and representation. But the *zelantes* have carried their point. And no doubt

the Pope feels that the sooner the excitement about it is over the better for the peace of the Church. The schema has got out into the world, and it is certainly not in the form in which any definition will be made. So that is doing mischief.

How this momentous change in the order of procedure was brought about, is told in the Diary kept by Senestréy of Ratisbon, of the proceedings at the deputation *de Fide*.[1] Before the Council had been long at work it became apparent to all that if things took their normal course, the second part of the Constitution on Catholic Faith would take up the whole time of the Council until the prorogation in the summer; then when the Council met again in the early winter, the first part of the schema 'de Ecclesia', the portion on the Church herself, would take up the time till Easter, 1871, for an enormous crop of amendments had been put in by the bishops; so that not for a whole year could the chapters on the Papacy be taken in hand. Thus those who looked on the settlement of the controversies on the Papacy as the vital issue of the Council, the thing that mattered most of all, saw with dismay this issue receding into a distant and dim future. And so in the course of March a number of petitions began to go in to the Cardinal Presidents, and to the Holy Father himself, praying that the question of the Papacy might be given precedence, and be taken immediately after the enactment at Easter of the first part of the Constitution on the Catholic Faith. Eight such petitions went in, signed by nearly two hundred Fathers, one by the Archbishop of Cashel and eleven of the Irish bishops.[2] These

[1] Mansi, V (53), 276; *Lac* 1695. It is without name, 'by one of the deputation *de Fide*'; but it is unquestionably Senestréy's (see Manning's note, Purcell's *Life*, II, 454), and a note in Mansi assigns it to him.

[2] Mansi, III (51), 703; *Lac* 968.

petitions naturally called forth a number of counter-petitions from the Minority; in this case reinforced by a weighty petition from a number of Italian bishops, who while declaring their full belief in the doctrine of papal infallibility and their hope that it would be defined by the Council, still were moved by grave considerations to urge that the order of business be not altered, but that the Constitution on Catholic Faith be completed, and the chapters on the Church be taken before the chapters on the Pope. This representation bore influential signatures: the Cardinal Archbishop of Pisa, another cardinal, bishop in the Papal States, the Archbishop of Florence, two other archbishops, and thirty-five bishops; and Cardinal Pecci privately urged the same.[1]

The Cardinal Presidents of the Council were adverse to the idea of changing the order of the debate, and wished the second part of the Constitution on Catholic Faith to be proceeded with; and this was the mind of Cardinal Bilio, the president of the deputation *de Fide:* in fact, he made the deputation give up ten sessions to the remodelling of the second part of the schema, but their work never came before the Council.[2] After having tried in vain during Holy Week to induce Bilio to bring the matter of the Roman Pontiff before the deputation *de Fide* at once, in order that it might be introduced at the Council straightway after the Public Session to be held on Low Sunday, April 24, the inner group of nine or ten bent on securing the definition, Ullathorne's 'zelantes', Manning and Senestréy foremost among them, approached the First President, Cardinal de Angelis, who made it clear to them that the Presidents adhered to the view that the infallibility should not be taken out of its turn. On this,

[1] Mansi, l.c., 714; Ollivier, *L'Église et l'État*, II, 258.
[2] Mansi, V (53), 230; *Lac* 553.

they decided to appeal directly to the Pope. This they did, on Easter Tuesday, April 19, and received from Pius the assurance that he would do what seemed right—' quod congruum videretur '. They were under the impression that the Pope gave an instruction to the Presidents that same day, and so was the cardinal, who spoke to Ullathorne the next day (p. 36); for all that, they found that at the sessions of the deputation on April 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, there was no sign of getting on to the Roman Pontiff, Bilio keeping them at the second dogmatic constitution on Catholic Faith. They chafed impatiently under this, for they did not feel the urgency of definitions concerning the Holy Trinity and the Christian Mysteries, while they saw the question of the hour receding into the distance, and out of view of any possible treatment that year. So they got up a petition, signed by nearly 100 Fathers, praying the Holy Father to order the schema on the Roman Pontiff to be brought on at once (April 23).[1] This he did, with immediate effect, so that on April 27 the deputation *de Fide* got to work on the Roman Pontiff, and at the General Congregation of April 29 the Presidents announced that the question of the Roman Pontiff, his Primacy and Infallibility, would take precedence and come on forthwith. The announcement called forth a letter of thanks to the Holy Father from those keenest for the definition, and a protest against the change of order from seventy Minority stalwarts.[2]

At this juncture Moriarty wrote to Newman, April 28 :

I have long delayed this letter. Day after day I expected to have some insight of the future. We are still in the dark. A deputation on the part of 400 bishops prayed

[1] Mansi, III (51), 722; *Lac* 977. [2] Ibid., 724; 979.

the Pope to bring on at once the question of the infallibility. They say that he promised it should be done. This morning we arranged for a counter-deputation. The Archbishop of Kalocsa (Haynald), Ketteler of Mayence, Archbishops of St. Louis and Cincinnati, Archbishop of Albi, Bishop of Autun, Bishop of Ivrea, Dr. Clifford and myself, are to try if we can get a hearing to persuade the Holy Father to put off the question to next year. Speaking 'secundum hominem' I would say that neither time nor place are suited for a General Council. The Pope, the bishops of Italy, of Spain, of Mexico, are smarting under a sense of recent wrong done under cover or pretext of those great principles of liberty of which we in England and America are enjoying the blessed fruit.

Nor does the place suit. The presence and presidence of the Romanus Pontifex necessarily takes from the Council the 'pouvoir constitutif'—we cannot be 'une assemblée constituante': we have only the power of discussion and opposition and declamation.

But under all circumstances, we must not forget the 'Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus', and this implies 'omnibus locis'. My prayer is 'Non mea voluntas nec mea mens, sed Tua fiat'. If it is in the secret counsel of God that the infallibility should be defined, there must be not only truth in the definition, but also some great need of it which we do not foresee. But seeing only, and not foreseeing, some of us are resolved to oppose to the last hour—to the final 'placet' of the Pope.

This phase of the Council may be closed with a personal letter addressed to Pio Nono by the Bishop of Orleans and the Pope's reply. Dupanloup wrote, April 23:[1]

Most Holy Father:

My name is not pleasing to you; I know it, and it is my sorrow. But for all that, I feel myself authorized and obliged, in the profound and inviolable devotion of which

[1] Mourret, *Concile*, 270.

Mgr. Dupanloup,
Bishop of Orleans

Mgr. Dechamps,
Archbishop of Malines

I have given so many proofs to Your Holiness, to open my heart to you at this moment.

The report is confirmed that many are soliciting your Holiness to suspend suddenly our important works and invert the order of the discussions, in order to bring before the Council on the spot, abruptly, before its time and out of its place, the question of the infallibility. Allow me, Most Holy Father, to say to Your Holiness : Nothing could be more dangerous.

This question has already set Europe on fire : the fire will become a conflagration, if by a violent haste it seems that, at all costs and by a change in the natural order of things forestalling the hour of Providence, the thing is being carried by assault. I would think I was betraying the Holy See and the Church if, knowing what I know, and foreseeing what I foresee, I did not utter a word of warning to Your Holiness with respectful but entire sincerity, Holy Father, while there is yet time, to spare the Church and the Holy See from evils that may become disasters for all Christendom during long ages, and cause the loss of an incalculable number of souls.

This is what makes a number of holy bishops tremble and groan unto tears.

[He begs the Pope to call before him representative bishops of the different countries, and bid them speak their mind freely ; it is the only way in which he can get to know the realities. To act without full knowledge would be to take, before God and man, the most appalling responsibility.]

Pardon, Holy Father, in one of the oldest and most faithful servants of Your Holiness, the episcopal and filial liberty he takes in writing this letter. His only desire, after love of Church and of souls, is again this time to serve Your Holiness, and to spare perhaps your closing days from the greatest sorrow that could break the heart of a holy Pope, that of seeing the Church on fire and her bosom torn by new schisms.

This letter with its impassioned appeal helps us to enter into the mind of those who opposed the definition. Happily such prognostications of evil have

lacked verification: as also have the opposite optimistic prognostications, as Manning's, that the definition would bring Protestants crowding into the Church.[1]

On May 2 Pius wrote to Dupanloup:[2]

Venerable Brother: Your name is no less pleasing to us now than in the past, nor do we love you less, or esteem less than formerly the gifts that God has bestowed upon you. But our paternal affection for you compels us, when you are stiffly dissenting from most of your venerable brothers and from the greatest part of the clergy and Catholic people of the whole world, to warn you not to wish to be wise in your own eyes, or to rely on your own prudence; for you know that all errors and heresies have arisen from the fact that their authors thought they were wiser than others, and would not acquiesce in the common opinion of the Church. It is right for the Fathers at the Council to put forward clearly difficulties they think stand in the way of any definition; but it is not right to strive by all means to bring all over to one's way of thinking: especially as we know the Council is under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, and that nothing can be defined that is not true and revealed, or that is not for the good of the Church. We say this to you with all the more confidence, in that for many years we have known you to follow the simplicity of faith of believers, and to be quite differently minded than you are now. Return, brother, I pray you to that golden simplicity of little ones; cast away prejudiced opinions, which may obscure the holiness of your character, and which may make, if not pernicious, certainly useless for the Church those great gifts of intellect, alacrity, eloquence, with which God has so liberally endowed you for the extending of His Kingdom. Wherefor we beseech God to shine on you more brightly by His light, and by His grace to help you more powerfully; and as an earnest of His favour and a pledge of our especial benevolence, we bestow on you our apostolic blessing.

A truly paternal letter.

[1] Mourret, op. cit., p. 268. [2] Mansi, IV (52), 1.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CRUCIAL DEBATE: OPPORTUNENESS OF DEFINING THE POPE'S INFALLIBILITY

The public announcement was made on April 29 that the question of the Roman Pontiff's primacy and infallibility was to come on forthwith. However, the deputation *de Fide* was not ready with its revised schema until May 13, and the interval was filled up at the Congregations by carrying forward the schema on the Little Catechism through its final stages, so that it was ready for enactment, though never enacted (see Chap. XII).

The chapters of the schema on the Primacy and Infallibility, prepared by the theologians, had been in the bishops' hands since March 6, and by March 25 some hundred and forty sets of written comments had been sent in to the deputation, some very voluminous, and most composed with great care.[1] They had been digested and scheduled by the theologian consultors of the deputation, so that the animadversions were ready for distribution the day of the announcement, April 29. Ullathorne speaks of them the following day:

> April 30. The great question is fairly launched out, on paper at least. Yesterday was distributed a folio of 104 pp. containing, abridged, the proposed amendments sent in by

[1] Mansi, III (51), 929-1070. There were 140 documents, but several were joint products of groups of bishops, six, eight, ten, or more, signing them.

Fathers on the Supremacy of the Vicar of Christ. To-day was distributed another folio of 242 pp. containing in abridgement, the proposals with their arguments of 132 Fathers, or groups of Fathers, on the question of Infallibility. Whilst these are being studied in the private rooms of each Father, the deputation *de Fide* is preparing its report and reformed schema, based upon these documents. There is a surprising amount of learning and of shrewd remark in these documents, which will be of inestimable value for future times. When the Little Catechism scheme is again reformed in our deputation upon the last discussion, it will be presented again, on Wednesday next, for the votes, after which the next thing will be the great discussion on the grand subject.

It was on April 27 that the deputation *de Fide* got to work on the schema 'de Romano Pontifice'; it sat daily until May 8, recasting the schema.[1] It was agreed that the text should be amplified—there had been complaints of its dry, juristic, theological character; also that the Constitution should be in four chapters, with proem: the institution of the primacy, its perpetuity, its nature, and the infallibility. The theologians of the deputation made an elaborate report on the observations of the bishops, grouping them according to the chapters of the Constitution as recast.[2] This Report was of a pronounced Ultramontane hue, and was for the most part an answer to the objections and difficulties that had been raised. Naturally, alike in the Report and in the proceedings of the deputation, the matter of the infallibility took the chief place. The Report took up the position of the dogmatic theologian, that if from the two founts of Revelation, Scripture and Tradition (to be discerned in the acts of œcumenical Councils rather than in history), the doctrine of papal infallibility is seen to have been part of

[1] Acts of Deputation, Mansi, V (53), 238; *Lac* 1678.
[2] Mansi, IV (52), 8; *Lac* 274.

the original Revelation, any difficulties from history, etc., must be apparent, and not real. In all such cases it is to be considered whether the Pope really spoke as supreme and universal Teacher and Pastor and using his apostolic authority; whether it really was a matter of faith or morals pertaining to the universal Church; and whether it was truly and properly a definition or peremptory sentence. Of all the difficulties urged, four are singled out as having substance in them:

the case of Pope Vigilius;
the case of Pope Honorius;
declarations concerning the Sacraments, especially Holy Orders, as the letter of Eugenius IV to the Armenians, and certain others;
the bull 'Unam sanctam' of Boniface VIII:

references are given to authors, who, it is claimed, have met these difficulties adequately.

The precise wording of the infallibility definition led to much debate, indeed to lively controversy, at the deputation; but this is held over for a subsequent chapter discussing the theology of the definition (Chap. XXII). On May 8 the deputation finished its work, and next day the recast Constitution along with the theologians' Report was circulated in print for the examination of the bishops.[1] The proem and the first three chapters, on the primacy, though amended a good deal in detail, were finally enacted substantially as proposed by the deputation; but chapter IV, on the infallibility, was greatly changed, both in the preliminary portion and in the definition itself.

It was on May 9 that the proposed schema and Report were in the bishops' hands, and on May 13 the great debate was opened at General Congregation by Mgr. Pie of Poitiers, who acted as Relator in behalf

[1] Constitution, Mansi, IV (52), 4; *Lac* 269.

of the deputation *de Fide* in introducing the Constitution—or in our parlance, was the Minister in charge of the bill.[1] It was an able exposition, moderate in tone, and used Bossuet on the primacy with great effect.

The general debate on 'the schema as a whole' began the next day and went on for fifteen days; it was really the decisive debate, for it turned principally on the crucial question of the opportuneness of defining the infallibility. The first speaker was Cardinal Patrizi, the Dean of the Sacred College. He spoke in favour of the definition, and was followed on the same side by the Archbishop of San Francisco and two Italian archbishops. Then Rivet of Dijon made a long and strong speech against, urging that the definition of 'the personal and absolute infallibility of the Pope', 'for that is what it really is', would be intolerable for men of the present day, disastrous for the general good of the Catholic Church, and useless for the government of the Church. A Hungarian bishop followed in the same sense; then a Spaniard and an Italian on the other side. At the next Congregation Dechamps of Malines answered Rivet, pointing out that the infallibility envisaged by the definition could not rightly be called 'personal and absolute', because it belonged to an office, and could be exercised only under well-defined conditions, and in regard to truths contained explicitly or implicitly in the deposit of faith: infallibility is neither revelation nor inspiration. A good sensible speech. Next came three vigorous speeches against: David of St. Brieuc, Brittany, Greith of St. Gall, who could say he had suffered persecution and exile for his fidelity to the Holy See, and Hefele. Naturally he spoke of the Councils, and especially Chalcedon: If ever there was an *ex cathedra*

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 29; *Lac* 290.

dogmatic document it was Leo's Letter to Flavian. But at the Council all the bishops were called on to declare on oath if it was conformable to the Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople; therefore they were called on to judge of its orthodoxy, and the Fathers of the Council subjected the Letter to an examination as to its orthodoxy. (Here murmurs broke out, and the speaker said, 'Have patience', and went on without further interruption.) It was not said to the bishops, 'Here is a dogmatic letter of the Pope; hear it, and submit'; but rather, 'Hear it, and judge'. Some of the bishops thought it in three places suspect of heresy; but no one said they were temerarious for doubting; no one questioned their right to doubt. And so a fourfold argument against papal infallibility can be drawn from Chalcedon. He spoke also of Pope Honorius and the Sixth General Council. He protested against the idea of the Report, that the infallibility being a revealed doctrine, all historical facts that seem to oppose it are necessarily false or irrelevant: not so does the Church proceed in the Canonization of the Saints. 'I yield to no one in reverence for the Apostolic See and the Holy Father: but I do not think it lawful to proceed to a declaration of the infallibility. Bishops are witnesses, not arbiters of the Faith.' He had just produced a brochure on Honorius: it was open to anyone to question whether he had caught a fish; but whether he had cast his net in the name of the Lord was known only to Him who is the Searcher of hearts. Probably the most impressive adverse speech.

The next day the Archbishop of Saragossa replied: in view of Quirinus' gibes, repeated by Salmon, at the ignorance of the Latin bishops, it is well to say that his speech bespeaks a very competent knowledge of the subjects in debate. He pointed out that so far from St. Leo's Letter being subjected to the free

judgement of the Council, the Pope had instructed his legates to allow of no change in it; and in fact it was accepted without any change whatsoever. He spoke at length also of Honorius. Cardinals Schwarzenberg and Rauscher followed, both against. The former urged what was urged by several, that the Papacy could not properly be dealt with before the theology of the Church had been defined. He stressed the manifold dangers he foresaw, especially in his own Bohemia.

On 19th Cardinal Cullen of Dublin made a speech thirteen columns long for the definition—one of the great speeches of the Council; and he was followed, on the same side, by the Cardinal Archbishop of Valladolid. Then came the first Oriental, Jussef, the Graeco-Melchite Patriarch of Antioch. He was altogether opposed to the definition. It would directly hit the Orthodox Eastern Church for the first time, and would destroy all hope of reunion. The Florence decree should be re-enacted, nothing more. And the rights of the Patriarchs should be respected.

On 20th the current ran against the definition: Simor of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary; John MacHale of Tuam, who made a long and very good speech: after dealing with theological aspects, he went on: The simple Catholics of Ireland, and he believed of other parts, did not think about or want these definitions; they held the doctrine practically, having sucked it in with their mothers' milk. Would it benefit those outside? Would it not rather be an obstacle to them? Would it not raise controversies and troubles?

Darboy of Paris followed:

There being practical agreement on the matter of the primacy, it is the infallibility that is really in debate; it was not named in the bull of convocation or in the official documents of the Council, but was introduced by a demagogic agitation outside, so that the hands of

the bishops have been unduly forced. Say what they may, the infallibility proposed is personal, absolute, independent, separate. The terms of the definition are vague and uncertain. The definition will not cure the ills of society and of the world. It should be enacted with the moral unanimity of the Council : should there be a substantial minority, the validity and authority of the Council will be exposed to doubt. (Signs of disapproval.) [1]

The next day was altogether in favour of the definition, Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel, opening, followed by three.

On May 23 there were two on each side, the Patriarch of the Uniat Armenians and the Bishop of Angoulème, *for ;* Ketteler and Ginoulhiac, *against.* The next day the four speeches were *for :* a Spanish bishop deplored the action of defenders in saying the infallibility is not personal—of course it *is* personal : as often as the Roman Pontiff wishes to teach the universal Church, it is just as certain that the Holy Ghost will be with him that he may not err, as it is certain the power of God will be with a priest who wishes to consecrate bread and wine. A Chilian bishop made a good fighting speech *for.*

May 25 was the day of Manning's great speech, one of the red-letter days of his life. He spoke first, introducing himself as the only convert in the Council :

> The Pope's infallibility *is* Catholic doctrine of divine faith, and all are already obliged to hold it ; to question it is at least material heresy, for it is not an open theological opinion, but a doctrine contained in the divine revelation. In no way is there any doubt as to the Catholic doctrine of the Pope's infallibility. Does any one of us present here

[1] Darboy's speech is printed in full in Appendix to Quirinus' *Letters.* It is worth reading as a clear statement of the Minority position.

doubt the doctrine? I have not heard any such word. He then turned to England, and expressed the conviction, based on his own personal experience, alike in his own conversion and in that of the many converts whom he had reconciled, that far from proving an obstacle to the return of England to the Catholic Church, the papal infallibility would be a powerful attraction for those outside the Church. The religious Protestant mind in England desired an escape from the confusion and chaos of the innumerable sects, and the lack of any tribunal able to teach with authority: so far as England is concerned, the definition will more than anything else promote conversions and the return of the country to the Faith. The progress of Catholicism in England is to be measured not so much by the number of actual conversions, as by the progressive penetration, constant and visible, of the whole English people by Catholic ideas and Catholic truth, and the change of mental attitude that is being wrought thereby. He read a number of striking citations from leading secular newspapers, to the effect that all recognized the infallibility as the logical outcome of the Catholic system, and that to hold back from defining it would be a sign and source of weakness in the Catholic position. Nothing is so injurious to the spread of Catholicism in England as the doubts and controversies among Catholics on this matter of the infallibility. The shelving of this question at Trent had had disastrous results; worse would follow should the Vatican Council, after facing it, fail to speak with decisive voice.

The speech was one of the triumphs of Manning's life. In the autobiographical reminiscences of 1887 he says:[1]

I wrote the whole by myself, and afterwards read it over to Bishop Cornthwaite and to Padre Liberatore [a Jesuit theologian]. They made no change in it. I had no knowledge of its length, which was 1 hour 50 mins. [12 columns of Mansi, IV (52), 249]. Before I got up I was nervous; but once up perfectly calm. I saw dear old Cardinal de Angelis

[1] Purcell, *Life*, II, 456.

look in despair at the cardinals next to him, as if he thought I should never end. But the bishops never moved till I had done. Cardinal Monaco, who was at the greatest distance, told me that he heard every word. Cardinal Bilio told me since that the two speeches he liked best were Cardinal Cullen's and mine. This was perhaps a friend's kindness, but we both meant business, not declamation.

The speech drew the warm admiration even of opponents: Kenrick of St. Louis printed a speech he had prepared to deliver—'oratio habenda at non habita'—in which he said of it: Magna animi voluptate audivi . . . lucidus rerum ordo, delectus verborum prorsus felix, gratia eloquii singularis, summaque auctoritas et animi candor.[1]

After Manning came MacEvilly of Galway on the same side. He took occasion, however, to correct Manning's misstatement, that the Pope's infallibility was already an article of Catholic Faith:

> The declaration made in 1826, before Emancipation, by the Irish and English bishops had been referred to, that the doctrine of papal infallibility was one which Catholics were not bound to hold, and one which was not likely ever to be defined as an article of Catholic Faith. He said: Those bishops made that declaration; and I also from this ambo make the same declaration, namely, that it is not of Catholic Faith which all are obliged to believe under pain of heresy, that the Pope teaching *ex cathedra* is infallible; but by the Providence of God, in a short time it will not be possible to say so from this or any other pulpit.

Later on in the debate it was pointed out by another speaker that in 1820, and again in 1831, the Sacred Penitentiary had declared that the Gallican doctrine, though reprobated by the Holy See, had never incurred any theological censure, and therefore could

[1] Kenrick's oration is printed in full, Mansi, IV (52), 453-81: it would have taken near four hours in delivery!

still be held as a free opinion,—though he himself never had held it. Clifford followed MacEvilly: He grew more and more persuaded that the authority and infallibility of the Pontiff could not be treated of apart from the authority and infallibility of the Church. The great bugbear of English Protestantism is the Pope, and the idea that he acts in the Church as a tyrant: no matter in what terms the definition of infallibility be couched, the popular belief will be that we have made the Pope a despot. (Murmurs and signs of disapproval.) He would cut short his speech. (Hear! hear!) Finally he urged that a round-table conference should be held between a few chosen representatives of the deputation *de Fide* and of the Minority, for an amicable discussion of the question, in the hopes that an agreed solution might be found.

This proposal had been made in one of the Minority protests, and though reasonable enough, had been refused by the Presidents as unnecessary. According to the Pope's idea the deputation *de Fide* should have been such a mixed tribunal; but it suffered incurably from the original sin of its composition, in that the self-appointed international committee of infallibilists had overridden the Pope's intention, and had engineered the election so as to exclude any representation of the Minority.

On May 28 spoke Verot, now translated from Savannah to St. Augustine, Florida. He had studied the question of the infallibility, not in the newspapers, but in history, and would begin at the first century. (Murmurs.) He began with the Acts of the Apostles, and worked steadily through the centuries. His exposition at many points provoked laughter: 'It is easier to laugh than to answer,' he said.

It is true that the Irish believe in the Pope's infallibility; but they also believe in their priests' infallibility—and not

only do they believe it, but they beat with sticks any who deny it. But will the Cardinal of Dublin say that they believe Hadrian IV was infallible when he handed over Ireland to the King of England !

This question should be studied in the monuments of the Church and the history of the Church, not in periodicals and newspapers. I say from this ambo to all editors of religious papers what I once said to one of them. He had been laughing at the practice of the Roman Church in blessing animals on St. Anthony's day, and when I defended it his answer was so absurd that I thought it right to answer a fool according to his folly ; so I said : ' I will let you know the day on which animals are blessed in Rome that you may go and get a blessing, which you badly need. For the biggest brutes (maximae bestiae) that I know are the editors, especially the lay ones, of religious periodicals.' (Laughter.)

The Eminent President rang the bell.

Verot : Allow me a few moments. I conclude that the pontifical infallibility is not an apostolic tradition, but an opinion introduced by a piety and a zeal not according to knowledge. Therefore for me to give my vote for it would be a sacrilege—yes, a sacrilege. (Loud signs of disapproval.)

Cardinal Capalti : That should not be said ; each one may abound in his own sense, but should not affix any note on those who think otherwise. Therefore I beg that if you have nothing more to say except jokes, there is no use your occupying the ambo any longer. (Many Fathers : ' Come down.')

Verot : It now only remains that I propose what seems to me a conciliation between the conflicting parties ; and would that I could bring an olive branch into this august assembly ! (Laughter.)

The President : I cannot allow this ; it belongs to the special discussion, not the general. Please come down.

This episode is given at length, because I make a point of recording all the ' scenes ' and all the inter-

ventions of the Presidents. Verot had trespassed on the patience of the assembly, both in tone and in time —his speech was still longer than Manning's, and must have taken a good two hours. It was by no means all fooling ; but Verot laboured under a wrong notion of what was meant by infallibility—he brought up St. Paul's rebuke of St. Peter. He was no mere *farceur*, but was, as has been brought out in Chapter VIII, a fine apostolic bishop (see Vol. I, p. 136).

May 28, 30, 31 the debate went on, *pro* and *con ;* the chief speakers *pro* were Spalding of Baltimore and the Archbishop of Utrecht ; *con*, Purcell of Cincinnati and Connolly of Halifax. June 2 Strossmayer spoke for over an hour and a half ; he foresaw that the definition would be an obstacle to the reunion of the Slavonic Orthodox Churches with the Catholic Church.

June 3 was the last day of the great debate. Gillooly of Elphin, Ireland, opened in favour of the definition, and Dinkel of Augsburg opposed. Domenec of Pittsburg, U.S.A., expressed his strong conviction that the definition would be an insurmountable obstacle to the conversion of Protestants in the United States, and implored the Fathers not to inflict so great an evil on the infant Church of the States ; if there be no set-back, in thirty or forty years the number of Catholics will be greater in North America than in Italy ; and they will be not mere nominal, but real practising Catholics.

President : Right Reverend Father, speak more prudently of the faithful of Italy.

Domenec : The only calamity that can destroy so fair a hope would be the dogma of papal infallibility.

The last speaker was Maret. Many signs of impatience were made—like the ' Divide, divide ' of the House of Commons. He read a long speech of an hour and a half's duration, and was so deaf that he could not catch what was said, or the Presidents'

rulings. It was probably the most definite expression of the Gallican position made at the Council.

When this speech was ended Fessler the Secretary mounted the ambo and announced that a petition from more than a hundred and fifty bishops had been presented to the Presidents, that the general discussion of the schema was exhausted, and further discussion could lead only to waste of time and useless repetitions of what had already been said; they prayed therefore that the Presidents should use the power given them by the decree of February 20, and put it to the vote of the Council whether the debate should be closured.[1] The Presidents in response to this decided to ask the Fathers whether they wished the debate to be continued, or no. 'Therefore let those Fathers stand up who wish the general discussion of the schema to stop.'

'By far the greater part of the Fathers have stood up, and therefore, using the powers given us, we put an end to the general discussion of the schema.'

The Acts say: These words were received with general applause; but there were not wanting those who showed their displeasure both at the petition and at the decision (Mansi, IV (52), 440).

These dissatisfactions found expression the following day in a protest from the Minority:

> From the very nature of Councils it follows that the faculty of adding to one's vote the reasons on which it is based, is not the privilege of some, but the common right of all, above all when it is question of a definition of faith. This right is exercised in the General Congregations; therefore the discussion cannot be closed by the vote of a majority without violating the right of those who were going to express their opinion. But this was done yesterday; and so, most eminent Presidents, we hereby signify

[1] The petition and signatures are in Mansi, IV (52), 441; *Lac* 984.

and put on record our protest concerning the right of the Fathers to give the reasons of their vote.[1]

This protest bore eighty signatures of the most determined of the Minority. It was headed by the three Cardinals, Schwarzenberg, Mathieu, and Rauscher, and included several of the leading archbishops and bishops of Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, Northern Italy, and North America.

This application of the closure—the only one—was one of the critical events of the Council, the one which more than any other gave rise afterwards to criticisms and attacks outside on the validity of the acts of the Council and of the definition of infallibility, on the ground that the closure was an unlawful suppression of rightful liberty of speech. That the Presidents were acting within the lines of the standing orders of February 20 could not be questioned; but the lawfulness and legality of the regulation was questioned, as in the protest.

The question of lawfulness was commonly held to be settled by the fact that the regulations were the Pope's. But it may be of use to consider the matter, looking on the Council merely as a deliberative and legislative assembly. In such assemblies, in parliaments, it has usually been found necessary to make provision for resort to the closure. And whenever the closure is applied, the minority closured always makes protests that it has been improperly muzzled and the due freedom of debate interfered with. This is mere human nature, and can be amply illustrated from the House of Commons. On this occasion some forty bishops who wanted to speak were put to silence. But sixty-five had spoken, thirty-nine in favour of the definition, twenty-six against. The debate had gone

[1] The protest and signatures are in Mansi, IV (52), 444; *Lac* 986.

on during fifteen Congregations of some four hours each, and the speeches cover just four hundred folio columns of Mansi. This would surely be deemed a very ample Second Reading debate in the House of Commons—for this is in effect what it was ;—and the Speaker would hardly be criticized, except by the closured minority, for an improper use of the closure. There is an unfortunate break in Ullathorne's letters from June 1 to 14, so that there is no record of what he thought at the time ; but in the Pastoral on the Council issued in October he expresses his approval of the action of the Presidents, and says : ' The subject [of opportuneness] had become so completely exhausted that nothing seemed to remain that was not in repetition of what had been already adduced.' I feel sure that anyone who reads through the speeches will say the same. Certainly the case for inopportuneness was fully and ably stated, nearly all the leaders of the Minority having spoken, even at great length : Schwarzenberg, Rauscher, Hefele, Rivet, David, Greith, Simor, Darboy, Ketteler, Ginoulhiac, Clifford, Verot, Purcell, Connolly, Vancsa, Strossmayer, Dinkel, Domenec, Maret.

Anyone who reads the speeches at this debate, the most controversial and crucial of all, cannot fail to be impressed by the high level that was maintained ; the dignity and courtesy and temper and restraint ; and also the learning displayed ; above all, the patience of the Fathers and the forbearance of the Presidents.

Here follow Dr. Ullathorne's letters during May.

May 1. Had the special deputation this morning and finished its work on the Little Catechism for the General Congregation. The deputation *de Fide* also sat, for Sundays are like other days for these matters. They will meet the next two days morning and evening, ours in the morning only. On Wednesday we expect not only to vote on the

Little Catechism, but also to receive the reformed schema 'de infallibilitate'.

It is now expected that the Council will not break up, but that after SS. Peter and Paul all who wish may leave for the hot months, and a certain number continue on the work of the Council until the reassembly, probably in November. Most people seem satisfied that the important question has come on. There has been so much discussion, and so many able productions have been circulated amongst the bishops outside the Council, that the matter is getting ripe, and it is thought that terms will ultimately be found that will unite all parties on one common ground; or if not, that the essential point will be avoided altogether. My impression is that we shall succeed in finding a common ground. In matters of faith every word, and the very order and connection of words, is matter of discussion and of great care; but in matters of discipline it is the substance of the law that is mainly attended to. In matters of faith there can be no real innovation, and the care is to prevent that; whilst in matters of discipline there is a considerable amount of innovation. For the question is to fit the rule to a changed state of things. Free and friendly are the two qualities which more and more distinguish the bishops both in their general and in their particular assemblies. And of course those who belong to the same special deputation, whilst they discuss freely amongst themselves at the board, stand together in defending their ultimately joint work in public, that is, in the General Congregation. There each has the privilege, with leave, of getting up and replying to any bishop who opposes the form in which they have agreed to draw up the reformed scheme. I have never witnessed the least ill-feeling manifested between any two bishops who have spoken even the most strongly against each other's views from the ambo. And you see those who are considered the leading antagonists on even the gravest points, talking as cheerily with each other, and having their pleasant jokes, as those who are the most closely allied in sentiments. Clever and learned bishops see the whole fabric of their thoughts, efforts, and aspirations, for months, perhaps years, in course of preparation,

swept away by a few words from the exposition of a special deputation, which throw the great majority on the opposite side in voting; and yet you never see them changed in their manner, or showing any sign of discontent or impatience. It is certainly a most edifying assemblage, and tends to prove the maxim that bishops are in the state of perfection.

Another thing that strikes me is, that whatever criticism there may be behind the scenes amongst bishops of the same views, they fall upon the policy of the question, and not upon persons. Even the grumblings on slow or less interesting speakers falls upon the question of time, rather than on anything personal. The reverence for the episcopal character is deep in all minds alike.

Experience again has made everything methodical, and this combined with the new and very wise rules, keeps the speakers to the point. The world could not produce such another assembly. And it is very worthy of remark, how, whatever objections arise and are debated at the first presentation of a scheme, somehow, and at times by what seems almost accidental, the right thing always turns up in the end.

To-day our first work of our special deputation was put to the vote in General Congregation; first the amendments by rising, then the 'placet', which always of itself for a single 'placet' takes an hour and a half. It took us from 9 to 1, including a Greek Mass, to put the schema to its test. But certain 'non placets' and 'placets iuxta modum' will send it back to us for reconsideration once more on this or that point, notwithstanding the hour consumed by a member of the deputation to explain the grounds of our accepting this, or rejecting that. So after another sitting there will be yet another voting.

The great question is not yet ready for its second stage, the special deputation *de Fide* working always, but keeping us waiting. Meanwhile our deputation is now to be every day at work, when there is not a General Congregation, from 9 to 12, but our place of assembly is changed from the Vatican to the Palace occupied by our president, Cardinal Capalti. We are very busy about what concerns

Bishops, Vicar Generals, and Provincial and Diocesan Synods at present. But it will be long before our work can come for a second discussion before the General Congregation, as the great question is bound to occupy us until we get leave of absence at the end of June.

The pamphlets on the infallibility, for or against, are still the order of the day here, and forces are being mustered for the great debate. Bishops have been summoned by their brethren from Germany; American bishops, who have leave to depart, are waiting to see it begin, and the Bishop of Shrewsbury also. The number who voted this morning was 591, a considerable number being absent.

May 8. The deputation *de Fide* have at last completed the revised schema on the Infallibility, and it will probably be printed and in the hands of the bishops by to-morrow night, and the discussion will commence before the week is out, by Thursday or Friday.

The Oriental bishops, on the plea of being left to their own rites, turn out here at a function of the Council in all sorts of colours. When the Westerns are all in white, one will be in purple, another in pink, another in richly-flowered brocade on a white or sea-green ground; and the same prelate appears sometimes in one, sometimes in another of these colours. There is a burly, good-natured Hungarian Greek bishop, who seems to have a new costume in shape as in colour almost on every occasion. One day he is all purple like a Western; another day he is in red velvet with a velvet round hat without a brim, the red embroidered with gold flowers; another exhibits him in flowered brocade with a flowery crown shaped like that of the old Emperors of Constantinople; then again he appears in some other trim. But in all his shapes, he has a good-natured laugh and word for everybody. Not so the real Orientals, who are grave, and in ordinary dress wear dark blue, with some fur or red down the front, a red or purple belt, a turban broad as a hat over the ears, or a black tall hat of felt without any brim whatever, and a blue veil, or a black silk hood sitting close over the head with a gold star on it just over the brow. But wait until there comes a festival demanding cope and mitre, then come out their

rich and many-coloured robes and crowns, and are very conspicuous amidst the plain and solid-looking white linen mitres of the West, which form the great masses of episcopal insignia.

There are sworn interpreters in the Council who remain near the ambo, take notes of all that is said, and report to such of the Orientals who do not understand Latin. If one such wishes to express his sentiments, they are translated into Latin, and read for him by some other Oriental bishop. But most of them educated at Propaganda speak both Latin and Italian.

There is talk of our prolonging through the hot month of July, and certainly when we begin the long expected subject, it won't do to leave it half-finished, and all the Church in a suspended condition as to the ultimate result; cool and confident as some of us may be here, that all will come quite right in every point, those who are at a distance are left a prey to the newspaper and pamphlet writers, and to their own imaginations. For in matters of this kind, distance instead of diminishing is a great magnifier and distorter of the objects that come before the mind and interest the heart. Upon us here, though things seem so calm, nevertheless we shall begin to realize the tension and strain there has been only when we get away from it, just as people do when they have long been watching a crisis in some dear friend, and feel no conscious fatigue or strain until all is over.

There were a hundred opponents to the reformed schema [on the Little Catechism] presented from our deputation for the third time to the Council last week, and to-morrow it will be the lot of this twenty-four to examine the objections which forty-four of them have sent in writing, and see what we can do, and what we cannot do, to meet the wishes and views of opponents. But as this is the final revision before the final voting on the subject, I leave you to guess if it be not rather delicate work.

Here may be intercalated a letter from Moriarty to Newman, which again helps to reveal the real mind of the Minority:

May 14. Should the papal infallibility be defined you will render a signal service to the Church by writing in support of the truth of the doctrine, for the opportuneness will then have ceased to be a question.

As far as human calculations can guide us, the Council will proceed to the definition, but the Providence of God may prevent it by means we cannot foresee. If God does not interfere, we must acknowledge that the result will be His Holy Will.

The authorities will carefully avoid interference with the liberty of speaking or voting. If we are overwhelmed it must be by a majority of our own brethren in the episcopacy. On the other hand, if the Pope's cause has been damaged by the intemperate advocacy of the *Civiltà*, *Univers*, and *Tablet*, we have been damaged also by some of the pamphlets on our side. Some of our friends have not written 'cum moderamine inculpatae tutelae'. They furnish our adversaries with arguments for the necessity of an immediate definition. Let us all pray, 'Dominus dirigat corda nostra et intelligentias nostras'.

Ullathorne again:

May 15. The discussion on the Infallibility was opened by Cardinal Patrizi, the senior cardinal. The first days of discussion being on the general schema, not on particular points, which follow after, are dull and somewhat drowsy. One French bishop made a great stand the first day on the opportuneness. One of my Benedictine brethren, a Sicilian, bored us for an hour, as if he were working with an auger through dead timber.

But the exposition on the part of the deputation *de Fide*, with which the reformed schema was introduced the day before by the Bishop of Poitiers [Pie] was a masterpiece, both of pith, learning, and apology. I hear the Germans and Hungarians are prepared with a counter definition so soon as the conflict becomes close and on the point. Eighty-five speakers were inscribed the day before the discussion opened, not to speak of those who will be added in the progress of discussion.

May 17. On Saturday, 14, began the great debate, but after the Expositor of the schema had delivered his fine oration the day before, and after Cardinal Patrizi, the senior of the Sacred College, had delivered a graceful and feeling discourse, the rest of the speakers that day did the work of *augers*, mind not augurs, they were very *boring*. To-day compensated. It was the real beginning of the debate; four of the ablest men spoke amidst profound silence; they were very earnest, but with a very deep sense of their responsibility.[1] Eighty-one speakers were inscribed the day before the discussion opened. Of these four only filled up the 3½ hours allotted to speaking to-day. Thirty-one new speakers were inscribed this morning. We shall have a third of the Council on their legs before the discussion is over; that is evident already.

Meanwhile the piping hot weather has set in, though it is cool in St. Peter's; the windows are all open, mattings on outside, and shutters to inside. It is wonderful how a mere inch breadth of light suffices in a room in Rome all day at this heated season. Many bishops are getting leave to go home, unable to stand the heat, or pressed by affairs. Two more of our bishops are getting their petition ready and their medical certificates. I am quite well so far.

A rather good thing was said yesterday in our carriage by the Bishop of Treviso. I told it to a group of bishops on entering the Council this morning, and they wanted at once to get it put in action. It is a simple remedy for a malady to which Councils of all sorts are subject: Let all those be fined proportionately who repeat what has been said before, and all those receive a medal, classed on the merits, who say anything really new or original.

The same day. After dining with the Bishop of Poitiers [Pie] to-day, we got into a room retired from the other Right Rev. guests, and had a very confidential talk in which he opened to me the whole policy of the deputation *de Fide* on the great question in debate. I found I had already

[1] The four were, Dechamps of Malines, David of St. Brieuc, Greith of St. Gall, and Hefele of Rottenburg—the first a champion of the infallibility, the other three prominent inopportunists.

divined it, but it will be of great value to be certainly informed by one of the most leading men in it. I now feel certain with a sort of clear obscure prospect, as well as by faith, that ultimately all will turn out well, even in accord with my own judgement of what is desirable. Meanwhile we must have a great flood of discussion. 125 speakers are now inscribed, and if we exclude the Expositor of the special deputation who replies each morning, only three a day have hitherto spoken. To-day they were all cardinals.[1]

May 19. Cardinal Cullen spoke this morning for an hour and three-quarters, and kept every one alive and attentive to the end. He was followed by a Spanish Cardinal who read a paper so badly that all got tired. I was saved half of it, having an appointment that required me to leave an hour earlier than the close. From all I hear, things are tending behind the scenes towards a satisfactory settlement of the question, and opposing parties as to the terms of the definitions are beginning to hold private conferences for mutual explanation of difficulties. As more than twice the number are inscribed for speaking daily, than those who are able to speak in the time, it looks like an endless affair; but I think something will bring about an understanding that may cut it short after a time. I think myself that the opposition is in the order of Providence, both to ensure searching investigation, and a proper balance of expression in the decrees. I have exactly four words of my own whose insertion would, I think, go far to solve the difficulty, and those of either party to whom I have mentioned and explained them, seem to think they might; but the time has not, and may not, come to bring them forward, or it may. I think indeed that we are tending already to a better intelligence of the precise and definite bearing of the whole question. A definition there will certainly be, and at a distance nothing would seem easier to a theologian than to word it; but with the rapidly accumulating knowledge that springs up in the conflict of minds and the very varied local bearings of the question with respect to different regions, the

[1] Schwarzenberg of Prague, Rauscher of Vienna, against, and Donnet of Bordeaux, for the definition.

same theologian, were he here, would find his cleverness considerably tamed.

May 20. Very able speakers to-day. I do not say on which side, but they were the Primate of Hungary [Simor], with his eloquent and easy latinity (*against*); Archbishop MacHale, the oldest prelate, as a prelate, in the Council, dating from Leo XII (*against*); the Archbishop of Paris (*against*), and the Archbishop of Corfu (*for*). Yesterday also spoke the Patriarch of Antioch (*against*), when I was absent. Ten more names inscribed to-day. Liberty of speech is complete. No interruption from the Eminent and Rt. Rev. audience. But when you get out into the adjoining chapels, and listen to the groups there, or in the refreshment rooms, you feel and see what the discussion is working, and understand what effects it is producing on parties, persons, and policies. Another index is the features of the audience, the whispered conversations of those who fill the benches, knowing beforehand something of their several views, and the demeanour of the five Presidents.

May 21. To-day the Archbishop of Cashel [Leahy] made one of the most clear, solid, and luminous speeches yet heard in the Council. Three speakers followed and seven more were inscribed, leaving at this moment sixty-five speakers still inscribed to speak on the general question, before coming to the chapters in detail.

To-morrow, Sunday, will be held special deputations, and on Monday the general debate is to be resumed. The understanding seems to be that this question must be concluded for good and all before we separate.

May 23. Meanwhile the great debate goes on in the Council, day after day, and as there are still a hundred or so inscribed to speak on the general question, even before coming to the chapters in detail, and only four speakers can be heard a day, and about three times that number more are inscribed every time we meet, the prospect of a conclusion is long away out of sight. One of the very ablest speeches yet made in the Council was delivered Saturday by the Archbishop of Cashel. To-day we had a long one on the

Oriental bearings of the question from the Armenian Patriarch Hassoun [*for*]; and after that a vigorous speech from the celebrated Bishop of Mayence [Ketteler, *against*], a very devout man, who lost part of his nose in a duel when an officer in the army, which is still visible in its effects on his otherwise remarkable features. Everybody says, When shall we get through this question? yet almost everybody wants to speak upon it. I think myself I have something to say that may not otherwise be said, yet every day's lengthening list makes me shrink more and more from putting down my name. Never perhaps did a question get such a sifting on all sides of it, and through all the pores of it, as this will have before it is done with. And as to pamphlets, they still continue to come in, not less than three even yesterday came to my address.[1] And still they come, all free of cost, and sent by hand. For every kind of note on one side brings out two or three replies on the other, all at the cost of the writers, and to the gain of the Neapolitan printers. For though allowed to be circulated here, they are neither allowed to be printed here, nor to come through the post, that the Pontifical government may not be responsible for them.

May 25. To-day in Council three speakers, Archbishop Manning an hour and three-quarters, the Bishop of Galway [MacEvilly, *for*], an hour and a quarter, the Bishop of Clifton [Clifford, *against*], an hour. At this rate a month will not finish the general discussion, before even coming to any propositions on the details of the schema. But I find from a conversation with the Archbishop of Malines [Dechamps] to-day that negotiations are really going on between certain representative parties with the view of modification of the terms of the schema, so to put an end to this endless debate. And from another quarter, I hear that there is a move showing itself for a petition to close the general debate. But unless the deputation *de Fide* comes forward with a proposal to withdraw and remodel the schema, and give an outline of the plan of reform, I don't see how it is possible to bring the general debate to a close

[1] He says he received sixty such pamphlets (Pastoral).

for some time yet. I met one of the leaders to-day under the glades of the Borghese gardens, one in all the secrets, who rather dashed my hopes received from a great leader on the other side this morning. And I knew that they two in the interval had had a private conference. Meanwhile the bishops in the Council exhibit wonderful patience, because, said a bishop two days ago, they all say Mass every morning. You thus get from my pen a little glimpse and the actual intricacy of the position, such as I can give without betraying the actual secrets of the Council. For my part, I am still perfectly satisfied, and believe all this to be in the order of God's Providence. All roots and foundations are being examined, and light must come into them. A very able archbishop said to me to-day: 'Attende, et videbis; post aliquot tempus, Dominus Deus interveniet.'

Simple as the question may appear at a distance, and to those who think of it alone, no one but those in the midst of the discussion in and outside the Council could imagine the number of collateral and relative questions that it gives rise to and sets in motion, or how abstruse the difficulty of adjusting them. But as yet we have not even touched its threshold in any practical sense. We are but sounding the channel, and surveying its rocks and shoals before venturing to navigate it. I am perfectly convinced that it would be impossible now to recede without inflicting a serious wound on the Holy See, and so on the Church at her heart; but how to keep the relative balance of the powers that reign in the Church, and to bring out its true constitution, as Our Lord has ordained it from the first, so that nothing in its teaching and governing powers shall suffer loss or be overbalanced, is the problem before this great Council.

After human means and wits have exhausted themselves, the Holy Ghost will settle the matter, and the prayers of the Church and the good intentions of the toiling prelates will be rewarded. 'This hope is laid up in my breast,' I may say with the patient Job. Or, with David, 'I have believed, and so have spoken.'

To-morrow will be the feast of St. Philip Neri, patron of Rome, and the Pope and all the world will be at the

Chiesa Nuova; but we of the deputation on discipline shall be holding a session at the Palazzo Vacari, the residence of Cardinal Capalti, our President.

The weather is sweltering, and all the world is broiling. Bishop Turner [Salford] has got leave of absence on account of health, and is going. Bishop Vaughan [Plymouth] is about petitioning the Judges of excuses on the same ground, as medical men say he ought not to work himself in the heat. Bishop Clifford has grown very thin, though I hear not of his going. I am better in health than I have been for years, and I suppose I must stand on to the end. The Pope refuses to give leaves of absence himself, saying he is found fault with for it. The Judges of excuses are very strict, yet half a dozen cases are put to the votes of the Council by them about once a week. And the benches are beginning to look thinner than they used to do, though I suppose we would still muster six hundred votes.

The same day. The great question is debated daily, and daily new names are put on the list, and that still for the question *in genere*. Then someone for the deputation gets up daily, and occupies a third or fourth of the time. To-day Dr. Manning got up for the deputation and occupied an hour and three-quarters, obviously anticipating Clifford, who was to speak also this morning. Then came the Bishop of Galway for an hour and a quarter. Then Clifford for an hour. The controversy gets wide and wild and involved. But meanwhile there are more hopeful things behind the scenes. For a week past conferences have been going on between Orleans, Malines, Simor [Primate of Hungary], the Archbishop of Saragossa, the Bishop of Ratisbon, and other French bishops on the other side, tending to an accommodation. I spoke to Malines this morning, who assured me that a plan was almost matured for an accord, and he told me some of the details. I think they would do, if they can be carried out. And I understand they are approaching near to being brought forward.

The attendance at the Council thins, and with the prospect of a month longer on the question *in genere*, something must be done.

It grows hotter and hotter. Dr. Turner leaves directly. Dr. Vaughan is sending in his certificate, and Bishop Clifford is getting very thin. Dr. Manning asked Amherst whether he and Dr. Clifford had not better go home.

On June 1 died Bishop Grant of Southwark. On that day Ullathorne wrote the long panegyric on his close friend, printed in the volume of *Letters* (pp. 243-9). And on the same day he wrote to Newman; after repeating some portion of what he had said in the other letter, he turns to the affairs of the Council:

We are in the thick of the discussion on the great question: fifty have spoken on the general question and as many more wait their turn; and yet when that is over, even though no new speakers be added, we are as far off as ever. For until the general debate is ended, we cannot come to the express terms of the schema, or propose any modifications in it. For my part, I don't think the bearing of the question upon other questions is yet fully understood. And I should like to put one or two crucial questions; but then, to wait perhaps for a month before you can get into the ambo; and who knows how things will stand then!

Strong efforts have been privately made by conferences of members to bring things to an understanding, but hitherto without success. Still it is pretty well understood by all parties that there is to be a recast of the schema. The number of pamphlets goes on increasing—I received three on last Sunday and two more the day following.

I think I shall not really transgress the secrecy imposed whilst telling you *in genere* that an Italian prelate quoted one of your Protestant books, and also some replies you made in the schools of Propaganda, in support of his views, and that with strong expressions of regard towards yourself, their object being to show your personal sentiments towards the infallibility. I listened of course with attention and compared notes with those under the ambo; but there was nothing said that a friend would have wished to have been unsaid, or which was not said in a friendly spirit.

And indeed I may add that I have heard nothing from bishops even in private respecting your letter to me, except regret that by the injudiciousness of a third person, it should, being so confidential, have got published.

We cannot break up leaving this question in suspension without serious evil following, but when we shall come to a close no one can say.

The feeling expressed in these last words was tersely put by one of the bishops: 'Quod inopportunum dixerunt, necessarium fecerunt:' 'By declaring it inopportune, they have made it necessary.'

CHAPTER XX

THE PRIMACY DEBATE

THE Second Reading debate, on the 'schema in general', having been closured on June 3, the Committee Stage of the discussion on the Papacy—for that is what in effect the 'special discussion' was—began on the 6th.

As the questions of the Papacy are to this day of very real and living interest and importance in England and in all English-speaking lands, indeed in all Protestant and Eastern Orthodox countries, it will be worth while to bring out clearly the issues debated among the bishops at the Council: and first, in the present chapter, the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Though at the time of the Council it was the infallibility that raised the greatest storms, alike outside the Council and in, and still at this day is the great bugbear of the Protestant mind; I cannot help thinking that the matter of the primacy, as defined in the third chapter of the dogmatic Constitution of July 18, in reality presents much greater difficulties to non-Catholics of all kinds, much greater obstacles to that united Christendom in communion with the Apostolic See of Rome and its Bishop that is in our day increasingly the dream and the object of prayer and of strivings of countless men of goodwill still outside that communion. And so it seems to me that the matter of this present chapter is of singular importance. Accordingly, the original chapter of the schema

'de Ecclesia', distributed on January 21, and animadverted on by the bishops in written statements during March, will first be given:[1]

Chapter XI, Schema *de Ecclesia*, 'On the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.'

To secure in His Church perpetual unity in faith and in communion, Christ established in Blessed Peter a perpetual principle and visible foundation of this twofold unity, as He immediately and directly promised and conferred on him a primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church.

The Petrine texts.

Accordingly we condemn any who deny that Peter by himself, above all the Apostles, whether individually or collectively, was endowed by Christ with a true primacy of jurisdiction: or who affirm that this primacy was not given immediately and directly to Peter, but to the Church, and by the Church was handed to Peter as her minister.

Jesus Christ established this primacy in Peter for the perpetual good of the Church, and so to go on till the end of the world. Therefore Peter always lives, presides, and exercises judgement in his successors, the bishops of the Roman See; so that whoever succeeds him in that see holds, according to the institution of Christ, Peter's primacy over the universal Church.

Lyons II and Florence cited, as in Constitution, c. III, § 1 (in Appendix).

We declare that this power of jurisdiction is ordinary and immediate, to which pastors and faithful of particular churches are bound by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience. We condemn any who affirm that the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs is not ordinary and immediate both over all the churches together, and over individual churches of particular pastors.

The three canons, XIV, XV, XVI, are practically the same as those attached to the first three chapters of the Constitution finally enacted.

The bishops' Observations on the Primacy were

[1] Mansi, III (51), 543; *Lac* 571.

scheduled by the theologians of the deputation *de Fide*. The Analytic Synopsis made a folio volume of 104 pages; it is printed in Mansi.[1] As many as 140 documents had gone in, many of them joint productions of groups of bishops, ten, twelve, or more signing them. They are scheduled under eighty-eight numbers. In crucial places the authors' very words are reproduced, and no one who reads them will doubt that they are a fair presentation of the documents, and by no means caricatures, as Salmon insinuates.

The leaders of the Minority are well represented: of the Germans, Schwarzenberg, Rauscher, Greith, Ketteler, Haynald, Strossmayer, Tarnoczy, Melchers, and the rest; of the French, Dupanloup, Ginoulhiac, David, Dupont des Loges, others.

After reading through the Observations I am prepared to state that there was not any single case of questioning the primacy in itself or in its implications, even in the strong form set out in the schema. There were demurrers to the use of the terms 'immediate and ordinary' applied to the Pope's jurisdiction over all the churches and all the faithful, but on the ground that they were liable to be misunderstood: the fact was not questioned; nay, it was accepted by all, as the meaning of the charge to St. Peter in John xxi, whereby our Lord, the Good Shepherd, appointed St. Peter, and him alone, to be shepherd-in-chief of the whole flock, with a universal charge to 'shepherd' and to feed both lambs and sheep, and so to rule the universal Church with pastoral jurisdiction over every member of it, pastors and people alike.

The brunt of the criticisms was the apparent ignoring of the episcopate in the whole handling of the theology *de Ecclesia*: here, it was said, is a summary

[1] III (51), 929-72.

of Catholic doctrine on the Church in which there is no account taken of hierarchy, episcopate, ministry, œcumenical Councils: simply Church and Pope. 'We are stupefied' (stupefacti sumus), said one. And so there was a general call, joined in by many of the Majority bishops, especially Italian, for a new chapter in the schema, on the Hierarchy or the Episcopate, defining the Catholic doctrine on the status, jurisdiction, rights, powers, functions of bishops as the successors of the Apostles.[1] In particular it was urged that the 'immediate and ordinary' jurisdiction of the Pope in all dioceses should be so explained as to make it clear that the bishops are not vicars or delegates of the Pope, but exercise immediate and ordinary jurisdiction in their dioceses, the Pope's jurisdiction being 'ordinary' in the canonical sense of the word, in that it is not delegated, but not in the popular sense of being usual. A paragraph, it will be seen, was introduced meeting these representations. A few representative utterances of Minority stalwarts will make their position clear, and will serve to show how grievously Quirinus misrepresents them.

Rauscher of Vienna: It cannot be denied that the Supreme Pontiff has the power in any diocese of doing the things that belong to the bishop. But to avoid misconceptions it ought to be called extraordinary. [Connolly of Halifax suggested 'super-ordinary'.]

Haynald and Hefele associated themselves with Dinkel of Augsburg in urging that 'immediate and ordinary' be deleted, and the following substituted: full power, which he can exercise not only in extraordinary cases, but always, alike on all the faithful and on the bishops of the whole Church.

[1] Though it never came before the deputation or the Council, a revision of the first portion of the schema 'de Ecclesia' was made by the Jesuit theologian Kleutgen, in view of the bishops' criticisms. It was drastically recast, and a chapter on Hierarchy and Bishops was introduced (Mansi, V (53), 308).

Tarnoczy of Salzburg: The formula 'immediate and ordinary jurisdiction' is most true if rightly understood, but liable to be misinterpreted if not made more clear.

Melchers of Cologne: The Supreme Pontiff without doubt has supreme and full power over the whole Church and over each and every part of it; but it should be exercised saving the rights of the bishops. The jurisdiction of bishops is immediate and ordinary, received from God, each in his own diocese; but is so subordinated to the Roman Pontiff that his supreme power of jurisdiction over every single part of the universal Church is immediate and ordinary.

This will suffice for the Germans; now the French:

Dupanloup: That the Pontiff has ordinary and immediate power over each and every church, is true and not open to doubt, in the sense that this power is his own and not delegated, and certainly may be exercised of itself and directly; but it should not be brought into play usually, so as not to interfere with the bishop's immediate and ordinary jurisdiction.

Ginoulhiac of Grenoble: In a canonist and theological sense the Roman Pontiff may be said to have ordinary and immediate jurisdiction over every single diocese, provided it is not taken to mean that he is the only real bishop of all the churches, and the others only improperly called bishops.

A group of ten French Minority bishops, among them Dupont des Loges of Metz, suggested the addition: We teach and declare that the power of jurisdiction of the Primacy, which is proper to it, is ordinary and immediate over all, and may be exercised directly, without seeking anyone's consent.

It is of first importance for the understanding of the attitude of the Minority to make it clear beyond possibility of doubt that there was no disposition on their part to question or to minimize the nature and the extent of the jurisdiction and powers inherent in the Primacy.

As has been recorded (Chap. XIX), the Analytic

Synopsis of the bishops' Observations had been circulated April 29, and the deputation *de Fide* had considered them and had produced a reformed schema on the Roman Pontiff, circulated May 9.[1] It consisted of a proem and four chapters; three on the Primacy, its institution, perpetuation, and nature; and one on the Infallibility. After the close, on June 3, of the general discussion of the schema as a whole, the special discussion of the text, chapter by chapter, began on the 6th. On that day the proem was taken, and six Fathers spoke proposing amendments, which had to be handed in in writing. The Presidents found it difficult to confine the speakers to amendments of the text; they were prone to launch out into speeches on the general question. One, a strong infallibilist, tried the patience of the audience by an elaborate disquisition on the Petrine texts: 'Let us read the Gospels' (murmurs, and 'get back to the proem'). After some time, 'I omit the rest' (voices, 'Deo gratias'!).

The emendations to the proem were scheduled by the theologians,[2] and on June 9 were distributed, and that same evening were considered by the deputation *de Fide*. They were seventeen in number. Two wished the proem to be completely rewritten and suggested new forms. The deputation decided to propose the addition of the passage 'Quemadmodum . . . conservaretur' of the decree as finally enacted; for the rest, they accepted a few of the emendations and rejected most. On 13th Leahy of Cashel exposed at the General Congregation the reasons that had moved the deputation to accept some and reject others. They were then put to the vote (by standing up) one by one, and in all cases the decision of the deputation was confirmed by large majorities.

Chapters I and II got through with little difficulty.

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 4; *Lac* 269. [2] Mansi, l.c., 628; *Lac* 301.

They were concerned with the institution of the Primacy by Christ in St. Peter's person, and its perpetuation in the Bishops of Rome as the successors and heirs of St. Peter. On all this there were no two opinions among the bishops, and a single day, June 7, sufficed for the discussion. One speaker embarked on a dissertation on the Old Testament types of the Church; pre-Mosaic, Paradise, Eve, the Ark, the wives of the Patriarchs. When he started on the Mosaic types signs of impatience were heard, and the President intervened: 'Pardon me, Rt. Rev. Father, you are wandering too far; and so we and all the Rt. Rev. Fathers beg you to get back to the point.' The few amendments proposed, nine in all, were quickly scheduled and circulated, and considered by the deputation,[1] and on 15th they were dealt with at the Congregation and voted on, the recommendations of the deputation being adopted by overwhelming majorities; a few small amendments were accepted.

To finish the case of this portion of the schema: on June 28 were circulated the amended form of proem and chapters I and II incorporating the alterations voted on 13th and 15th; on July 2 the three texts were put to the Congregation and voted on, one by one, and were all passed practically unanimously. In this form they were put before the final Congregation as part of the entire decree for the crucial trial voting of July 13.

Chapter III was entitled 'De vi et ratione primatus Romani Pontificis', defining the nature of the primacy. It gave rise to considerable discussion, carried on during five Congregations, thirty-two Fathers taking part.

Although for the Catholic Church herself, for those in communion with the Holy See, the fourth chapter,

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 701; *Lac* 312.

on the Infallibility, was the most crucial and the most controversial issue, I have already expressed the belief that for others—the Orthodox Churches of the East, Anglicans, and Western Protestants of all kinds,—the doctrine of the Primacy and its implications as set forth in this third chapter, is really the more important and fundamental. Therefore the matter is here set out in some fullness.

The debate issued in little change in the schema of chapter III; it was in substance unaltered. For an understanding of the debate it will be well to refer to the final enactment (Appendix); the changes made will be specified as they occur.

The debate began on June 9,[1] and the first speaker was Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna, one of the leaders of the Minority. As in great measure he set the tone of the debate his points will be given:

In matters of discipline there is no institution so legitimate, no right so certain, that the Pontiff, when the good of souls calls for such action, cannot override it. He instanced the suppression of French dioceses by Pius VII in the Concordat. The Pope has the power of doing in any diocese whatsoever those things that belong to the bishop: no Catholic can question this. On the other hand, it cannot be called in question that bishops in ruling their dioceses have a right that is their own, and they are not vicars of the Pope. The statement that the Pope's jurisdiction over other dioceses is 'ordinary' is liable to be misunderstood, because such intervention would be, in common parlance, 'extraordinary'.[2] He proposed that for the opening words of the second paragraph of the schema: 'Docemus . . . hanc quae proprie est episcopalis iurisdictionis potestas, ordinariam esse et immediatam,' should be substituted the following, based on a canon of the Fourth

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 539.

[2] In theological and canonical language 'ordinary' jurisdiction is opposed to 'delegated'.

Lateran Council: 'Docemus . . . Ecclesiam Romanam, disponente Domino, super omnes alias ordinariae potestatis obtinere principatum, et hanc Romani Pontificis iurisdictionis potestatem, quae vere episcopalis est, immediatam esse.'

This amendment the deputation 'gladly accepted', and Rauscher's wording stands in the decree.

Dechamps followed, proposing three new canons in condemnation of propositions in Maret's book. A letter of Ullathorne's of June 14 refers to the episode:

> Here is a recent scene of the Council. Unlooked for, one of the leading men [Dechamps] rose up and read three canons with anathemas against a book of one of the bishops present [Maret], and called upon all to accept them. The bishop in question went and asked for a copy from the speaker, and put his name down to reply. But the speaker said he had only written them in pencil, and such a one had it; but, going to him, he had it not, nor anyone else knew where the paper was. He goes to the President, who says, 'I have it not, I don't like it. If you will withdraw your notice to speak, I will withdraw the paper.' And there I hope it is ended. For it was, whatever the merits, an informal proceeding. I suspect the silence of the Council daunted the proposer.

The next day, June 10, Dupanloup spoke:

> There is no real controversy on the subject of this chapter, only on certain points of detail. The Pope's primacy of universal jurisdiction rests on the clear words of Christ taken in their obvious and natural meaning. Such is the tradition of the Gallican Church from Irenaeus to Bossuet. 'I return to our schema' ('bravo'!). Some limits should be set to the usual exercise of the primacy, and a recognition of the jurisdiction of bishops, metropolitans, patriarchs. The right of appeal to Rome is certain, but the jurisdiction of the lower courts should be respected; and he cited the well-known words of St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius.

A Chilian bishop spoke strongly in favour of the infallibility, and entered on a long refutation of a tractate just circulated by Kenrick of St. Louis. On the President ringing the bell, he said: 'All right, Eminent Father'! (Optime, Em. Pater), and went on, disregarding a second ringing of the bell. He went through the proofs from Scripture, Councils, tradition, theologians; then, 'Not to lose time uselessly' ('hear! hear'!), etc.; and made a speech of six columns without putting in a single formal amendment.

The Bishop of Nice denied roundly that the Pope's jurisdiction in other dioceses was episcopal, ordinary or immediate, and proposed the word 'pontifical'. St. Gregory the Great declined for himself the title 'universal bishop', given him by the Patriarch of Alexandria, because 'that which is given to another beyond reason is taken away from you'.

Cardinal Capalti said the Presidents could not allow this speech to pass without declaring that the doctrine was inadmissible.

Verot, after a long reference to the Council of Florence and other Councils, proposed adding a clause that the Roman Pontiffs have always declared that their supreme authority is to be exercised according to the canons. He proposed various amendments, his speech being interjected with 'murmurs' and 'laughter' of the Fathers; and concluded by proposing a new canon: 'If anyone says that the authority of the Pope in the Church is so full that he may dispose of everything by his mere whim, let him be anathema!'

This brought Capalti to his feet again:

We are not in a theatre to hear buffooneries, but in the church of God to transact the serious business of the Church, in transacting which nothing should be said either contumelious or absurd or erroneous. The Rt. Rev. Father must pardon me, if carried away by zeal I have had to say

this; for as often as he mounts the ambo he detains the Fathers of the Council in listening to his pleasantries.

A not undeserved rebuke.

The Bishop of Barcelona, though of the Majority, wished that the universal jurisdiction in other dioceses should be said to be 'extraordinary'.

The Bishop of Oran, Algiers, quoted a Bologna professor of theology, that the Pope could be judged by a Council, if as private doctor he fell into heresy ('ha! ha!'). 'Whether he would still be Pope, I pass over. But I believe . . . (murmurs grew). Murmurs do not hinder the truth. I believe . . . (murmurs). What I say is true: it is in that theology—these murmurs are unworthy.' And he went on.

The more ardent spirits of the Majority began to grow restive; they saw time running out and the crucial fourth chapter not yet touched. So on June 13 they put in a petition to the Presidents to apply the closure. It was signed by Senestréy, Martin, Manning, Cornthwaite, and five others—strangely, only nine, and ten was the number that had to sign such a petition. The Presidents took no notice of it.

That day, 13th, Cardinal Pitra delivered an exhaustive speech on the Greek and Slavonic canons, a subject on which he was a specialist.

On 14th Haynald spoke:

'That by the words of Christ, 'Feed my lambs, feed my sheep,' the care and custody of the universal flock of the Lord was entrusted to Peter and his successors the Roman Pontiffs; and that by this the unity and firmness of the holy Church of God is cemented, no Catholic denies. Every Catholic venerates Peter and the Roman Pontiff as the supreme pastor, under whose supreme rule the other pastors, successors of the Apostles, rule as bishops the particular churches in which they 'are set by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God'. But he thought that the

position and rights of the bishops were obscured and depressed in this schema. He objected to the word 'episcopal', because it was impossible for the Pope to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in all dioceses. Leave out 'episcopal, ordinary, immediate'.

The Melchite-Greek Patriarch of Antioch pleaded that in view of the Orthodox Churches no canons with anathema should be enacted on this matter of the Primacy, only the decree of Florence without addition, and a decree protecting the rights and privileges of the old Patriarchates.

The Bishop of Coutances expatiated at great length on the devotion of the French Church to the Holy See:—

Capalti: Rt. Rev. Father, we all know that—it's not to the point—please come to the amendments which you propose in chapter III.

The Bishop: Pardon me, Eminence; but each Father puts his ideas in the way that seems best to him. These are proofs of the true love, devotion, and obedience of the French bishops to this primacy, the strength, principle, and centre of Catholic unity. It is the answer to insults of various kinds uttered from this ambo against a Catholic country. (No! no!) If the words of the second paragraph be pressed bishops will be in the eyes of many only vicars of the Roman Pontiff, removable at will (murmurs). Therefore let the paragraph be omitted or rewritten,—and be put in a new form.

A bishop from the Island of Sardinia spoke on appeals from Pope to General Council, and urged that the decrees of Popes are irreformable, whence may be argued their infallibility.

Capalti: The question before us is not the infallibility but the primacy.

The Bishop: I am not speaking of infallibility; I am speaking of inerrancy (laughter); and he went on.

Cardinal de Luca: We read in the Book of Proverbs, 'Rebuke a wise man, and he will love you.' As you, Rt. Rev. Father, are a wise man, you will not be displeased at my reminding you we are not talking of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, but of his ordinary, direct, episcopal power over the whole Church. Therefore we all ask you to come back to the point.

The Bishop: But I have to show from the practice of the Church that the decrees of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable.

Many Fathers: That belongs to chapter IV.

The Bishop: It is in chapter III, chapter III, chapter III.

The Fathers: Chapter IV, chapter IV.

The Bishop: Good; thanks very much ('Bene; gratias ago'); and down he came.

Vancsa, Archbishop of Fogaras in Transylvania, then part of Hungary, himself of the Rumanian rite, and in contact with the Rumanian Orthodox Church, warned the Council that the second paragraph as worded would be an absolute bar against the return of the Eastern Orthodox to Catholic unity. 'Therefore, for the sake of Reunion, I am compelled to declare solemnly, and with the utmost urgency to beg of you, Rt. Rev. Fathers, that the things contained in this second paragraph be cut out wholly; or at least that another formula be substituted. Bear with me, Rt. Rev. Fathers, while I go back on what was said by the learned and eminent Cardinal (Pitra) on the Greek canons. (Uproar—rumores intensi.) I beg humbly . . . I listened patiently to all that was said. Therefore I beg humbly (murmurs). . . . I wish to hurt no one, God forbid ('good, good'!). But I pray that you grant me this, for otherwise I could not set foot in my diocese again. I will not utter frivolities ('good, good'), but I must defend the

institutions of my Church, by vindicating what is just and licit.' He was listened to to the end without further interruption.

The last speaker was Freppel. He had been professor of theology in the Catholic faculty of the Sorbonne, and one of the theologians called to Rome to prepare for the Council; and during the Council he had been made Bishop of Angers. Ullathorne commends the high quality of his speeches. He dealt with the principal objections that had been raised.

The rights of the Patriarchs are by ecclesiastical law, those of the Pope by divine law, and what is of divine law cannot be limited by what is of ecclesiastical law. ('Bravo; first rate!') We are making a dogmatic, not a disciplinary, decree, and it would cause confusion to bring in what is only of ecclesiastical law.

Ordinary and immediate are no new terms for the Pope's universal jurisdiction; the former was used by the Fourth Lateran Council, the latter by St. Thomas. When Popes have said they may not act counter to the canons, does that imply they are bound by the canons? I distinguish: as a legislator by his own law, yes; as an inferior to a superior, no. Every legislator in every kind of government is bound to observe the laws he has made or confirmed, unless and until they be lawfully abrogated; this by natural and divine law, because the common good and right order in any society require it. But the Pope has the power, for good cause, to dispense, or change, or abrogate any canons.

This distinction excludes the fantastic despotism, or absolutism, that we have heard spoken of. Absolutism is the principle of Ulpian in the Roman law, that the mere will of the prince is law. But who has ever said that the Roman Pontiff should govern the Church according to his sweet will, by his nod, by arbitrary power, by fancy, that is, without the laws and canons? We all exclude mere arbitrary power; but we all assert full and perfect power. Is power arbitrary because it is supreme? Are civil governments arbitrary because supreme? Or a General

Council confirmed by the Pope? Let all this confusion of ideas go! Let the doctrine of the schema be accepted in its true, proper, genuine sense, without preposterous interpretations. (Applause.)

An excellent winding-up speech.[1]

The discussion of chapter III ended June 14, and the next day began the discussion of chapter IV, the Infallibility. Meantime the amendments on the Primacy were scheduled, and found to number seventy-two.[2] The schedule was distributed to the Fathers June 30. The deputation *de Fide* got to work on them on 19th, and dealt with them at four sessions, accepting a few, but ruling out nearly all.[3] On July 5 the emendations were submitted to the General Congregation. The Relator of the deputation was Zinelli, Bishop of Treviso, near Venice.[4] His exposition was a model of brevity, clarity, moderation, and courtesy:—'this emendation is liable, certainly not according to the mind of the Rt. Rev. Emendator, to be misunderstood in a sense that the deputation cannot admit.' The seventy-two amendments were divided about equally between the Majority and the Minority, and they were rejected by the deputation with the strictest impartiality, all of them but four, three of which came from the Minority. There was no accepting of persons: cardinals' emendations, as Pitra's, were ruled out; also Dechamps', though a member of the deputation; and Freppel's. The most important of the four accepted was Rauscher's, already spoken of.

Zinelli began most eirenically:

It was his first appearance in the ambo, and not one of the amendments was his. To those who had suggested

[1] But on Freppel see Mourret, p. 66.
[2] Mansi, IV (52), 1080; *Lac* 332.
[3] Mansi, V (53), 264; *Lac* 1689.
[4] Mansi, IV (52), 1100; *Lac* 346.

new formulae rewriting the whole chapter, or large sections of it, he said that though their proposals were excellent, perhaps improvements, still it was question of amending an existing text already discussed. The two or three points of greatest moment he dwelt on in some detail, above all the terms episcopal, ordinary, immediate, of the Pope's universal jurisdiction. The jurisdiction in itself was not questioned by anyone; but there was a certain jealousy lest the terms used in asserting it might seem to derogate from the position of bishops as successors of the Apostles. Zinelli argued that the terms, when rightly understood, were sound and did not give rise to any curtailment of the ordinary immediate jurisdiction of each bishop in his diocese. 'Will any bishop say that the Pope would have to get his permission to preach, or hear confessions, or administer the sacraments in his diocese? When this question has been put, it has been met with laughter—the most conclusive answer.' He repeated Freppel's remarks on the canons concerning the rights of the Patriarchs. In regard to this chapter being a bar to the reunion of the Eastern Churches, when the time comes God will move their hearts and minds; meantime let us pray for them, and let us define the truth fearlessly (impavide definiamus).

When he finished the amendments were put to the vote, those for the amendment standing up first, and then those against it: in every case the recommendation of the deputation was carried, often unanimously, always by overwhelming majorities—until the last was reached, and here arose a serious difficulty. It had to do with the third canon, that belonging to this chapter III. The original text of this canon ran:

If anyone says that the Roman Pontiff has only the office of inspection or direction, but not the full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal Church, not only in things pertaining to faith and morals, but in those that pertain to discipline and government of the Church spread through the whole world; † or that this power of his is not ordinary and immediate, whether over the churches all

together or individually, or over pastors and faithful all together or individually; let him be anathema.

Amendment 72 was that for this canon should be substituted the following:

If anyone says that the primacy of the Roman Pontiff is only the office of inspection and direction, and that his supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal Church is not full, but only extraordinary and mediate; let him be anathema.

It had been proposed by Regnault of Chartres, who appears to have belonged to the middle or mildly Ultramontane group of the French bishops. The Relator now said that the deputation accepted this amendment 'iuxta modum', the mode being that at the point in the original canon marked by the † the clause be inserted: 'or that he has only the principal part, but not the full plenitude of this supreme power' (aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem huius supremae potestatis).

The introduction of this clause in this way seems to have been a grave error of judgement on the part of the deputation. By no show of reason could a clause strengthening the canon be called a 'modification' of an amendment whose purpose and effect was to lessen its force. How the thing came about appears in the minutes of the deputation. Manning wished the clause introduced into the body of the chapter in connection with an earlier amendment; but it was decided it would be better in canon III.[1] If this had been done frankly as a substantive amendment included in the printed schedule, the procedure would have been correct; but to bring it in by a side wind was clearly irregular. And this the general body of bishops felt. When it was thus put to the meeting nearly all began saying to one another (fere omnes ad invicem dicebant)

[1] Mansi, V (53), 266.

that they should have it before their eyes, and that it would not be right to vote after merely hearing it. Haynald and Darboy voiced this dissatisfaction, and said that as it was new matter there should be a discussion on it. The Presidents ruled that the vote should be deferred until the next Congregation, and that meantime the proposed canon should be printed and distributed.

This was July 5; on 9th a remonstrance to the Presidents was made by the Minority, pointing out that the canon as now proposed was in no way a modification of amendment 72, but the original canon with an important insertion; by the rules of procedure votes are to be taken on amendments proposed at the public discussion: therefore a vote should be taken on this addition; and if it be rejected, the canon in its original form should be put to the vote.[1] The protest bore sixty-two signatures, headed by the three Minority cardinals, the great German and Austrian archbishops, the archbishops of Paris, Lyons (now Ginoulhiac), Rheims, Milan, St. Louis, and several bishops prominent at the Council, as Ketteler, Hefele, Clifford, Moriarty.

On the previous day, 8th, the deputation seems to have realized the mistake, and decided to withdraw the clause;[2] but Cardinal Bilio, the Chairman, received a private instruction from the Pope, through Cardinal Patrizi, that the canon be put to the Congregation with the clause inserted.[3] Accordingly the next day, without bringing in the Pope's name, he said that on consideration he thought it would not do to withdraw the clause now that it had so publicly been put forward and had got into the press.[4]

Consequently at the Congregation on July 11

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1119; *Lac* 991.
[2] Mansi, V (53), 273.
[3] Mansi, IV (52), 1119, note.
[4] Mansi, V (53), 274.

Zinelli undertook the defence of the addition.[1] He was able to make out a good case for the position that the clause did not really go beyond what had been discussed and agreed to—that 'full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the whole Church' was tantamount to 'the whole plenitude of supreme power'. But he was not equally convincing when he sought to justify the deputation's procedure,—in fact, he was not convincing at all. However, on the canon with the addition being put to the vote, by far the greater number of Fathers (longe major patrum pars) accepted it, and it was declared carried.

Finally, on the 13th, chapter III as amended was put to the vote and carried by a large majority (longe major pars).

The original chapter XI of the schema, on the Primacy, had been notably expanded and improved in the reformed schema proposed by the deputation; the proem and three chapters on the Primacy as finally enacted differed but little from the deputation's proposal.

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1200; *Lac* 368.

CHAPTER XXI

INFALLIBILITY DEBATE: TEXT OF THE DECREE

If the chapters on the Primacy got through easily, it was otherwise with the Infallibility, and great divergences of view manifested themselves in the 'Observations' of the bishops on the additional chapter of the theologians, put into their hands on March 6.

The draft text of the actual definition ran thus:[1]

Title: *The Roman Pontiff cannot err in defining matters of faith and morals.*

Sentences from Council of Lyons and Formula of Hormisdas (as in the actual Definition).

Therefore, with the approval of the Sacred Council, we teach and define as a dogma of faith, that it comes about by the divine assistance, that when the Roman Pontiff, to whom, in the person of Peter, it was said by Jesus Christ: I have prayed for thee, etc. [Luke xxii, 32], exercising the office of Supreme Teacher of all Christians, defines authoritatively what in matters of faith and morals is to be held by the universal Church, he cannot err; and this prerogative of inerrancy or infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is coextensive with the infallibility of the Church. But if anyone, etc.

This text was the basis of the Observations put in with the deputation *de Fide* on March 25. There were 140 sets of Observations, many being the joint products of groups of bishops. They were scheduled by the theologians of the deputation, and the Analytic Synopsis fills just a hundred columns of Mansi.[2] The comments of the opponents of the definition are

[1] Mansi, III (51), 701; *Lac* 641. [2] III (51), 971-1070.

set out fully and clearly, and in great measure the actual words are reproduced, some at great length; as those of Rauscher, Schwarzenberg, Hefele, Haynald, Dupanloup, Connolly, Verot, and above all Kenrick, whose comments run to ten columns.

It may be said with full truth that in the Synopsis given to the bishops on April 29 they had before them adequate materials for the formation of a considered judgement; in particular a summary of all the objections, difficulties, and hesitations that in the opinion of many stood in the way of the definableness of the infallibility as of Catholic Faith, even though it be accepted as a practically certain theological opinion: the case from Scripture, Councils, Fathers, history, theology, was argued from both sides with great array of learning; the practical side of the issue, too, the danger of antagonizing the Governments of Catholic States, of schisms in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, of large defections of Catholics in Germany and Switzerland, of repelling Protestants from the Church (especially in North America), and of setting up a new barrier against the Eastern Orthodox Churches—all this was urged with all the impressiveness of men whose only thought was for the welfare of the Church, of religion, and of souls. All this was set out frankly and without disguise by the theologians of the deputation *de Fide*, who certainly made the Synopsis with great impartiality.

And equally the case for the definition is set out with the like fullness, with the counter-arguments in favour of the opportuneness of the definition and its dogmatic truth. Some wished to go further than the proposed formula, asking for an unconditional assertion of infallibility of all judgements and decrees of the Pope in the domain of faith and morals, no limitations being set, as of addressing the whole Church, etc.

It will be of interest to cull a few jottings from this mass of interesting material.

Thus Cardinal Pecci (Leo XIII) thought that one of the conditions of an infallible pronouncement should be that it unmistakably claims to be such.

The Dominican Cardinal Guidi with the Dominican bishops and Père Jandel, the Master General of the Order, while rejoicing that the infallibility of the Pope, the constant tradition of the Dominican School, should be defined, still urged that the word 'infallibility' should not be used, as being too vague and liable to misunderstanding; that St. Thomas should be followed, who does not use the word when asserting the doctrine; and they proposed a formula, in part adopted by the deputation: that the Roman Pontiff by the power of the divine assistance is entirely immune from all error when, exercising the office of supreme teacher of all Christians, he defines something to be held or rejected as of faith by the universal Church; and that this prerogative is coextensive with the infallibility of the Church herself, as it belongs to the authority of Christ's Vicar to determine finally questions of faith.

Ullathorne urged that the term 'ex cathedra' should be introduced into the definition: it was consecrated by long use in the schools, and had a fixed and determinate meaning; its introduction would prevent uncertainties and controversies after the Council. Others made the same suggestion, and though it was not adopted by the deputation, it was carried by the Council, and stands prominent in the definition.

It was the duty of the deputation *de Fide* to take into account all the criticisms and suggestions put in by the bishops, and to recast the text so as to meet any general wishes manifested. This they did in a series of sessions that materially altered the text of the theo-

logians. The genesis of the new text put forward by the deputation is explained in the next chapter. Its contents may be sufficiently described thus :[1]

The first paragraph was substantially the same as the first paragraph of the decree as enacted (see Appendix) ; it was followed immediately by the definition, the second, third, and fourth paragraphs of the final decree being wholly new, added as the outcome of the debate.

The definition in the deputation's revised schema was couched in these terms :

> We teach and declare as a dogma of faith, that the Roman Pontiff, to whom in the person of Peter it was said by Christ : 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not,' etc., by the power of the divine assistance promised to him, cannot err, when, exercising the office of supreme teacher of all Christians, by his apostolic authority he defines what in matters of faith and morals is to be held by the universal Church as of faith, or is to be rejected as contrary to the faith : and such decrees or judgements, of themselves irreformable, are to be received and held by every Christian with full obedience of faith, as soon as they become known to him. But since infallibility is the same, whether it be regarded in the Roman Pontiff as the Head of the Church, or in the universal teaching Church united with its Head ; we define further that this infallibility extends to one and the same object. But if anyone contradicts this definition of ours, let him know he has fallen away from the truth of the Catholic Faith and from the unity of the Church.

No special canon was proposed for this chapter.

This was the text debated in the General Congregations from June 15 onwards. On the first day it was announced that seventy-three Fathers had inscribed their names to speak ; at the next Congregation thirty-two more were added to the list of prospective speakers ; and further additions brought the number

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 6 ; *Lac* 272.

up to a hundred and twenty. The debate was for the amending of the text—a Committee Stage debate; but the Presidents found it difficult, in fact impossible, to keep the speakers to the point. Many long speeches belonged really to the general, Second Reading, debate, and were arguments for or against the defining the doctrine.

On the first occasion spoke the Cardinals Mathieu of Besançon and Rauscher of Vienna, the leaders of the French and German wings of the Minority. The former's speech was a protest against Vallerga, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, who in the general debate had drawn out an analogy between the Monothelite and Gallican controversies. He pointed with pride to the loyalty to the Holy See and to the Church of the old Gallican episcopate at the Revolution, and remarked that this Council could hardly be held were it not for the French troops in Rome. Rauscher said a distinction must be made between the Pope's power of jurisdiction and the power of magisterium; the three Councils cited speak only of the former, and are wrongly cited in chapter IV. He proposed the formula of St. Antoninus: 'The successor of St. Peter using the counsel and seeking for the help of the universal Church, cannot err.' If the word 'help' displeases, the word 'testimony' might be used; or any other formula that expresses unambiguously that the consent of the churches, whether precedent, concomitant, or subsequent, is necessary, not indeed that pontifical definitions on faith and morals may be received with reverence and obedience based on moral certitude; but in order that a pontifical definition has to be accepted as of necessity for salvation, as a doctrine revealed by God.

As it will appear that leader after leader of the Minority put forward this formula of St. Antoninus as one that would be acceptable to all, it will be of

interest to have its actual text. St. Antoninus was a Dominican; he took part as a theologian at the Council of Florence, and then became Archbishop of Florence; he died 1459. The text of the piece on the Pope runs:[1]

> The Pope, though as an individual (singularis) person and acting of himself (motu proprio) he can err in faith; nevertheless, using the counsel and seeking the help (utens consilio et requirens adiutorium) of the universal Church, God so ordaining, who said, 'I have prayed for thee', he cannot err: nor can it be that the universal Church should accept something as Catholic that is heretical, because the universal Church is the Bride, and will ever be 'without spot or wrinkle'.

June 18 was what Ullathorne calls a 'red day', the whole time being taken by four cardinals. The first was the Benedictine Cardinal Pitra. His speech, read for him by a bishop, was too rhetorical, and was marred by an excessive classic latinity; but its substance is of lasting interest and value to this day. He was a fine Hellenist scholar, an expert in the liturgies and religious literature of the Greek and Slavonic Churches, and he here brought together more fully than I have met with elsewhere the tributes of the Greek hymns and other popular religious literature of the Greek Church to St. Peter and to a number of the Popes.

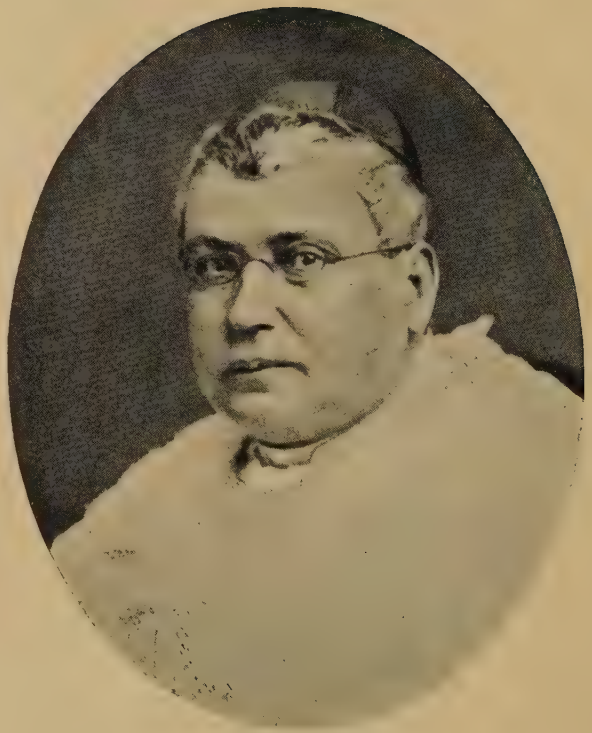
The next speech was one of the sensations of the Council. It was by Cardinal Guidi, Archbishop of Bologna. He was a Dominican, a distinguished Thomist theologian, who had been professor of theology in the Universities of Rome and Vienna. It was his first appearance in the ambo, and his words were awaited with expectant attention on all hands.

[1] *Summ. Theol.*, p. iii, tit. 23, c. 3, § 4.

He read the decree and expressed his full agreement with it, as faithful disciple of St. Thomas. But he pointed out that the definition proceeded on a syllogism: By the power of the divine assistance the Pope cannot err when he defines what is to be believed: but by this assistance he is made infallible: therefore he is infallible. But the minor is equivocal, even false: the assistance is a transient divine act, not a permanent quality. It produces no change in the person; it makes his act infallible, but not his person. He illustrated his meaning: one or two acts of drunkenness do not make a man a drunkard. Therefore the correct title of the chapter would be, not 'the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff', but 'the infallibility of his dogmatic definitions'. The definition is infallible and irreformable, not the person, though to the person is given the assistance whereby he has the authority to issue such definitions.

So Guidi met the objection to the idea of 'personal infallibility'; coming to the other objection, to 'separate, independent, absolute infallibility', he urged that never had the infallibility been exercised in such an irresponsible manner; nor could it be. Basing himself on Bellarmine, he declared that a condition of infallibility was that it should not be exercised rashly (temere), but that the Pope was bound to use ordinary human diligence in arriving at a right judgement, as prayer, consultation, study; and that the normal means was consultation with a greater or less number of bishops, according to the circumstances, the bishops being the witnesses to the belief of their churches. Therefore it should be made clear in the decree that not the Pope alone issues a definition; but the Pope with the bishops consenting to, or it may be asking for the definition, in such a way that they merely propose it, but he, by the authority received from Christ, defines. Therefore he would insert in the definition: 'having made investigation as to the tradition of the other churches, and having taken counsel with more or fewer bishops, according to circumstances, and having himself examined the matter, and invoked the Holy Spirit,' then he cannot err (murmurs); and so on much as in the proposed form. And he proposed a canon: 'If anyone says

CARDINAL CULLEN,
Archbishop of Dublin



CARDINAL GUIDI,
Archbishop of Bologna

that the Roman Pontiff when he issues dogmatic decrees or constitutions, acts by mere will (ex arbitrio) and by himself, independently of the Church, that is separately, and not by the counsel of the bishops manifesting the tradition of the churches; let him be anathema' (voices: 'No, no').

A little storm arose; some cried, 'Good, excellent'; others, 'No, no'!

Guidi: Do not the bishops manifest to the supreme Pontiff the tradition of the churches? Why then 'No, no'? I beg you not to interrupt the speaker. Everyone puts forward his opinion. They are judges who ought to judge, and you yourselves ought to say afterwards 'placet' or 'non placet', but not to interrupt the speakers. (Some: 'Good, excellent.') He continued without further interruption: In this way the supreme and infallible authority of the Pope in defining matters of faith is vindicated, and the opinion of those is excluded who hold that *ex cathedra* decrees are reformable by the bishops or by a General Council.

It is not surprising that this speech of so unexpected an ally should have greatly heartened the Minority. They crowded round the cardinal as he came down from the ambo, thanking and congratulating him—Strossmayer even embracing him.

Hardly less remarkable was the speech of Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, in that he put forward a quite new form for the definition, the form which, with a few modifications, was the one finally adopted. Cullen is commonly given the credit of having devised the actual definition, but it appears that he was in consultation with members of the deputation, and Senestréy says in his Diary that the new form was due to Cardinal Bilio.

In his speech Cullen said

that when the Pope acts as Vicar of Christ he acts by his own authority given him by Christ, not by the authority of

the bishops or the consent of the churches. Christ did not say to Peter, 'Thou art the Rock', provided you consult bishops or theologians; 'I give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven', but on condition you hear others before you use them. When Peter acts as head of the Church, he acts with the Church and for the benefit of the Church, and he is not separated from her; but he does not receive his authority from the Church, but from Christ. The rest of a somewhat long speech was really on the general question, a defence of the doctrine.

That afternoon Guidi's speech was reported to the Pope, and he was sent for. The Pope, it is said, upbraided him, a bishop of the Pontifical States and a cardinal, for opposing him. Guidi was surprised, and said he had maintained only that bishops are witnesses of tradition. 'Witnesses of tradition?' said Pius; 'there's only one; that's me.' [1]

But at the very time that Guidi was having his bad half-hour with Pius, another interview was taking place. Dechamps, in the name of several Fathers of the Majority, came to a conference with Darboy and Ketteler, to see whether Guidi's speech did not afford the basis of an accord in which all could agree. Dechamps declared that Guidi had substantially stated what he himself had always held; and Darboy on his side expressed his agreement with Guidi's position, which, he said, differed from that of the schema proposed to the Council. Cardinal de Luca, one of the Presidents, consulted Darboy, who advised that a new schema be drawn up based on the principles of Guidi's speech.[2]

[1] Of course no one but Guidi himself knew what actually passed; the above is cited from Dupanloup's private journal by Mourret (p. 299), and Dupanloup was likely to know. In saying this, if he did say it, Pius spoke as 'private theologian'!

[2] Mourret, op. cit., 299.

It was, however, not considered advisable formally to withdraw the schema in favour of a new one, either Guidi's or Cullen's; but to let the debate run its course, and then make final choice from among the very many formulae proposed. It will appear that the final form did meet some of Guidi's desires.

At the next Congregation d'Avanzo, an Italian bishop, spoke in the name of the deputation *de Fide* on Guidi's speech. He defended the correctness of the title of the chapter, 'the Infallibility of the Pope',—it was, however, modified. As to Guidi's conditions of an infallible decree as expressed in his canon, 'by the counsel of the bishops manifesting the tradition of the churches', it was in reality more Gallican than the Gallican position, which was that the acquiescence of the bishops, expressed or tacit, was enough to stamp a papal decree as infallible; whereas Guidi was requiring an express consent beforehand. No condition can be put into the definition besides what is in it: namely, that the Pope act not as a private person, but exercising his office of teacher of the universal Church; that it be in the matter of faith and morals; and that the efficient cause is the assistance of the Holy Ghost.

The Presidents still found it of extreme difficulty to keep the speakers to the point—the emending of the text; they tended to revert to the general discussion and to make long speeches on the infallibility itself and on its opportuneness. So that the Presidents had to intervene with great frequency, and they might well have intervened a great deal more than they did. It may be added as a fact, that the principal offenders were not the Minority speakers, but those of the Majority.

The debate was continued by the Latin Patriarch of Alexandria, in a long speech on the arguments for the infallibility, which aroused again and again signs of great impatience.

The Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem followed on the same lines, and had to be called to order by the President on the remonstrance of one of the bishops when he had been speaking near an hour. Cardinal de Angelis begged him to come back to the point. He seemed not disposed to obey, till, on several bishops calling out, 'Come down, come down,' Cardinal Capalti imperatively called on him to desist. He came down, but lodged a protest, claiming that the remainder of his speech should be inserted in the Acts.

These two were strong supporters of the definition. The next, Archbishop MacHale of Tuam, was against it, urging that some reference be made to the place of the bishops, as successors of the Apostles, in the teaching Church. It was a long speech of nearly an hour's duration. The Archbishop of San Francisco was for the definition, but proposed a long insertion in the preliminary part, to forestall misconceptions.

The next day the Archbishop of Sorrento entered on a long oration in favour of the definition. The President intervened: 'Rt. Rev. Father, what you are saying is excellent, but it belongs to the general discussion. Please come to the schema.' 'This is only the proem', said the speaker, amid laughter.

The Vicar Apostolic of Asia Minor, being titular Archbishop of Smyrna, went back to St. Polycarp, and discoursed at length on his visit to Rome and the paschal controversy, as proving his recognition of the Pope's infallibility. He then passed on to Irenaeus, till the President's bell rang, and he said, 'Well, let words yield to the bell (cedant verba tintinnabulo)'.

Errington spoke shortly of the unsatisfactory and unbusinesslike method of the discussion by long set speeches without any relation to each other. He called for a small joint committee from both sides to go into the matter and report. He himself proposed

that in the title 'magisterium' should be used, not 'infallibility'.

Connolly of Halifax maintained that neither the Petrine texts nor the three pieces cited in the schema from the Councils prove infallibility as put forward in the proposed definition. By it the Pope by himself is equivalent to the entire teaching authority of the Church, and all the bishops equal zero (murmurs and laughter on all sides), which is mathematically absurd, and theologically not in accordance with the revealed word of God. None of us question that the Pope is infallible: the question is, whether by himself, or according to the formula of St. Antoninus, 'using the counsel, and the assistance of the Church'.

The Archbishop of Granada thought that the chapter on the Pope's civil princedom ought to be included. (Many Fathers, 'No, no.')

On June 23 Archbishop Landriot of Rheims made a long and temperate speech against the definability of the doctrine, the weightiest of the speeches on that side. He himself held and always had held the teaching of Fénelon on the Pope's infallibility, which teaching had received the approval of Clement XI.[1] But he doubted whether that opinion is so based on the unanimous consent of Catholic tradition as to be definable as a dogma of faith. He dealt at great length, and with real learning, with St. Augustine's position, and that of other Fathers. For these reasons he was held in doubt, and proposed that the doctrine be defined as 'true and Catholic', but not as a dogma of faith, or

[1] Fénelon, and apparently also Bossuet, held the infallibility of the Roman See, but not of its occupant (sedis, non sedentis): individual Popes might err in teaching, as Honorius; but the papacy would recover itself, and other Popes would put right the error that had been made. One of the solicitudes of the Infallibilists was to kill this distinction between the Roman See, i.e. the line of Popes, and the individual Popes.

under anathema. 'But if, for all that, you proceed to the definition, and the Holy Father confirms it by his apostolic authority, no one will be, in heart and mind, more obedient than the Archbishop of Rheims.' (Applause.) It is worthy of note that Landriot had acted consistently with the Minority in all their protests and representations; at the final votings he, like many others, voted first 'placet iuxta modum', and at the Public Session 'placet'.

The Archbishops of Burgos, Spain, and of Toronto, Canada, spoke for the definition, and then the Bishop of Biella, Piedmont, against. Cardinal Bilio, after calling him to order for giving utterance to views beyond the limits even of recognized Gallicanism, added: 'It is most painful to admonish in this way a man venerable by age, and conspicuous for the great labours he has borne for the Church.'

This day, June 23, certain petitions were made to the Presidents to shorten the speeches by more drastic ruling. But the speechifying went on just the same.

Bishop Whelan of Wheeling, U.S.A., urged in a long speech, amid signs of weariness by the bishops, that the Church should in some way be brought into the definition, as by the words that the Pope in defining acts as the head of the Body of Christ and the mouth of the Church.

On 25th Ketteler urged that the formula of St. Antoninus be adopted.

Four other bishops spoke. This day two petitions for the closure, signed by twenty-three and fifteen bishops, were made to the Presidents, but without effect.[1]

On June 28 an Italian bishop, after proposing an amendment, made so long an exhortation to the Fathers to study brevity in their speeches that Capalti

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1197.

told him the best thing he could do would be to give a good example of the brevity he was urging on others.

Ginoulhiac, now Archbishop of Lyons and Primate of Gaul, made a conciliatory speech: the idea of inspiration or revelation should be explicitly excluded; he adopted St. Antoninus' formula.

The Bishop of Urgell, Spain, wished the scope of infallibility extended beyond the sphere of faith and morals.

The Bishop of Los Angelos, California, was against the form of the definition, and proposed a new form for the whole chapter.

Moriarty of Kerry said that if the schema contained the words spoken by Dechamps and Pie all would vote 'placet'. The whole trouble was over the three words 'personal, separate, absolute'. As chapter IV stood, his amendment was that it be omitted altogether. If retained, it should be stated that any dogmatic decree must contain at least the formula 'having ascertained the votes of the Cardinals of the Roman Church'.

On June 30 two bishops making long speeches in support of the definition were called to order by the Presidents.

Martin of Paderborn, one of the deputation, proposed a complete rewriting of the whole chapter, and a long addition, which in fact became the basis of the addition actually made.

Other bishops developed long arguments, amid great signs of impatience, in favour of the definition —one on saying 'I have finished', was greeted with cries of 'bravo'!—and then came Verot again, unsuppressed by previous experiences. After speaking for nine columns, during which he raised many murmurs and also much laughter, voices began to cry out, 'It is very late'. Verot said: 'I am sorry it is so late; but if the Presidents will allow me to break off

now, and go on to-morrow, I will do so.' This they refused, so he went on for two columns more. His speech was not reasonable. He asked that Bossuet's *Defensio* (a work in two large quarto volumes) should be discussed in detail at the Congregation; he went through the centuries again: St. Paul, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Augustine, Vigilius, Honorius. Certainly a learned and vigorous speech, but in no way a discussion of the text. At the end he put in two or three amendments, one being: 'after in his wisdom he has ascertained the faith of his brethren in the episcopate'.

July 1, the Bishop of Cuenca, Spain, spoke at still greater length, fifteen columns, in favour of the definition, without putting in any amendment at all, and without any discussion of the text. Then Maret and David of St. Brieux both advocated the formula of St. Antoninus.

On July 2 the first business was the voting on the Proem and chapters I and II of the Constitution as amended; it has been described in Chapter XX. Then the discussion on chapter IV went on. The Bishop of Meath, Dr. Nulty, proposed an amendment and explained it at such length, defending the definition, that the President called him to order: Rt. Rev. Father, you see that the whole Congregation is wearied; draw in your sails, and come to any amendments you wish to propose.

Then Mermillod of Geneva made a short speech: We are being crushed under the twofold burden of heat and of eloquence. Let us come to our vocation of judges not of orators. It is time now for definition, not discussion. ('Good, good.')

The President announced that a Transylvanian bishop had waived his right to speak, 'for which we thank him with all our hearts'. ('Excellent, excellent.')

Meignan of Chalons followed: he doubted that the belief in the infallibility as put forward in the schema was sufficiently attested in tradition or in the universal belief of the Church. He thought the formula of St. Antoninus should be taken, or some other that brought in the bishops or the Church.

The Bishop of Perpignan also supported the formula of St. Antoninus, and proposed a canon: If anyone say that the prerogative of infallibility can be exercised by the Church without the Pope, or by the Pope without the Church, let him be anathema.

A Peruvian bishop: 'After these magnificent orations I renounce my right of speaking.' (Applause.)

The Bishop of Sinigaglia spoke for the definition. He discussed the case of St. Cyprian at such length that the Fathers cried out, 'Cyprian has been spoken of enough, this is mere repetition.' So he passed on to St. Augustine, till the President said: 'Enough has been said on Cyprian and Augustine. We all beg of you to come to any amendments you have to propose.'

After another long general speech by a Piedmontese bishop for the definition, Freppel of Angers made another excellent speech, which was practically the winding-up speech of the debate.

For in the minutes of the next Congregation, July 4, there is a note in the Acta, that owing to the great heat it was too trying to remain in Rome listening to long dissertations for four hours every day, especially as the subject had been exhausted and nothing new was said. Therefore certain bishops on both sides, especially Manning and Haynald, had made a move to induce the rest of those inscribed to speak to renounce the right. At first several seemed to resist the proposal, but finally nearly all acquiesced.

Two more, however, spoke: the Bishop of Civita Vecchia, *for*, but he wished the theological term

ex cathedra introduced; and the Bishop of Oran, Algiers, *against*, supporting the formula of St. Antoninus.

This was the end: no more speakers mounted the ambo, and the Presidents declared that as no one asked to speak, the special discussion of chapter IV was closed, 'amid general shouts of joy and applause'.

This was on July 4.

The question, of course, arises, Was the debate prematurely and unduly cut short, owing to the physical discomforts of the great heat?

This Third Reading debate had gone on for eleven days, and there had been fifty-seven speakers, thirty-five *for*, twenty-two *against*. It was not a good Third Reading debate, not businesslike; few were satisfied with proposing amendments and briefly explaining their reason; many did not attempt to do this, but made long speeches for or against the doctrine, that really belonged to the previous debate. The Presidents were unduly indulgent in allowing a too great scope to the speakers.

Had the Minority case its chance of being adequately represented? Among the sixty Fathers who resigned the right of speaking were several of the Minority leaders. Haynald himself, Schwarzenberg, Simor, Hefele, Strossmayer, Darboy, Dupanloup, Clifford. But Rauscher, MacHale, Connolly, Landriot, Ketteler, Ginoulhiac, Moriarty, Verot, Maret, David, Greith, Meignan had spoken, and had put the various aspects of the case very fully. It may justly be doubted that there was anything more to be said on either side.

Dr. Ullathorne's Letters, June and July.

After June 1 there is a break, the next letter being of 14th.

During Pentecost week, the Holy Father orders very special devotions in Rome for the Council. On the Monday

in that week he himself came heading the cardinals in procession to St. Peter's singing the litanies; the bishops were there, St. Peter's was full. Then the 'Veni Creator' was sung, then Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Daily since in the great churches have there been similar devotions, and processions in the streets, even the Jesuits walked 280 strong. Exposition also in all the great churches, beginning with St. Peter's.

We this day closed discussion of the 3rd chapter of the schema *de Summo Pontifice*. To-morrow begins the 4th chapter, the great point; 120 names inscribed for speaking, your humble servant amongst them, and early on the list after the archbishops. But I have had confidential communications which lead me to hope, as they are from a cardinal, that after a short discussion the deputation *de Fide* will intervene with an exposition and a new proposition, likely to unite nearly all the Council in one, and so cut short the debate, and settle the point to general satisfaction. Something of this kind must and ought to be done, to prevent worse evils.

Here is a little story that will remind you of old doings in Church history. A certain bishop wrote a letter to one of his priests inveighing against the Council and all its proceedings in a most unjustifiable way, and of course revealing its affairs in his own way, so that he could not be answered without going into secrets. The letter was sent by its recipient to England, and got into the *Times*, though the bishop was no Englishman. It got wind who the writer was. The Pope was about sending for him, when all must have come out. He threw his schema into the Tiber, and escaped from Rome. A boatman picked up the schema out of the river, took it to the authorities, and lo! the name of the bishop to whom it belonged was found upon it. I tell you the story as it goes in the Council.[1]

It is now said that by management we are to settle the question by SS. Peter and Paul, or soon after, but that though others may be allowed absence, the special

[1] The story is confirmed by letter of L. Veuillot, *Rome pendant le Concile*, II, 427. On this episode, see below, p. 193.

deputations will be retained to go on with their work. I hope not, and don't see it will save much time; but if it is so, I shall certainly ask leave to come home for a month.

June 19. The great procession of Corpus Christi I cannot describe, as being in it I did not see it. All that I saw was half a mile of bishops in silver copes and linen mitres, two and two, with a black line on each side of chaplains, topped with the flames of their long and heavy waxen torches. Of course there was a mile of friars, monks, and regular clerics, each community with its cross and acolytes preceding; then the tents, crosses and bells preceding the choirs and canons of the basilicas; then the bishops, the cardinals, each with his suite, the Roman prelates, prelates of the household, senator and municipality of Rome in their gold and crimson, the papal household, the noble guard; the Pope raised on high kneeling before the Blessed Sacrament; the generals of Orders following, the ambassadors and the staff of the papal army, the Knights of Malta, foot soldiers, cavalry and artillery following and closing the procession.

Take up a good view of the front of St. Peter's, extend the colonnade down from the end of the sweep of pillars on the side of the Vatican Palace along the whole square beyond, along the side of the houses, in wooden pillars festooned with green wreaths, and covered with awnings of white linen with red vandykes; carry it down, and across, and up the other side, until it joins the opposite colonnade running on to St. Peter's. You have a covered pathway from the royal staircase of the Vatican round to the great porch of St. Peter's, more than a mile in length. The sides are hung all the way, even the walls of the houses in the lower square, with antique tapestry woven in scripture designs. The path is covered with fine sand scattered over with green box leaves. A line of troops is on each side; all round, beyond them rows beyond rows of chairs; beyond the five or six lines of chairs, the standing multitudes. Along the procession, marching with it at intervals, the Swiss Guards in armour, and here and there a purple robed master of ceremonies with eyes turning in all directions. Each one in the procession has a quarto book from

which with his companion he is reciting the hymns and psalms to which Indulgences are attached. And as each couple crosses the threshold of St. Peter's, they begin the 'Te Deum'.

The bulk of the procession, which is in the church before the Blessed Sacrament has begun to move from the Vatican, crowds with its dense lines the porch, as big as a great cathedral, and stands in line after line along the nave of St. Peter's, leaving the centre free. The bishops as they enter remove their mitres, and if you forget it, a master of ceremonies hints that your purple calotte must come off as well. Under the lofty bronze canopy the High Altar is in a blaze of lights. The long train of bishops moves on and on, taking up their places in the long rows of green cloth seats on the two sides of the tribune beyond the altar, extending up to the papal throne. The venerable cardinals, relieved at last of their jewelled mitres, are mopping their heated heads and swimming faces, as they quietly take their seats in front of the bishops. The papal choir now resounds under the vault of the huge church; the canopy, borne successively through the procession by students of the colleges of the different nations, is seen at the distant end of the church, the kneeling Pope borne on men's shoulders beneath it, and beyond him the great white peacock feather fans to take off the flies. The jingling sound travelling up the two sides of the marble pavement tells you that the lines of troops are grounding arms and kneeling to present their weapons to the God of armies. Dead silence reigns save the choir advancing, and all the world is on its knees. The splendid household and assistant prelates round the great bronze piers of the baldachino to the back of the altar, which here is the front, the Pope with the Blessed Sacrament, Christ and His Vicar, have arrived. They descend to the ground, the first Cardinal Deacon receives the Blessed Sacrament and conveys it to the altar, the Cardinal Vicar receives it, and after the 'Tantum ergo' and the prayer, which the Pope sings, he gives the Benediction to the four quarters over all the assembled faithful of all orders and ranks in the Church of God. The Blessed Sacrament is conveyed as it were privately to the proper chapel, where

it is habitually reposed, and the throng of human beings slowly melts away.

Mgr. Barry, more familiarly known as Dr. William Barry, a student of the English College in Rome during the Council, took part in the great procession. He writes :

On Corpus Christi Pius IX carried the Blessed Sacrament in solemn procession round the Piazza of St. Peter's for the last time. All the bishops, the religious Orders, and the Roman Basilicas were represented in that superb spectacle of many thousands. The Papal Seminaries had their share in it ; and during the brief time allotted to us of the Venerabile, I was one of those who bore up the tassels of the Pope's canopy—a solemn moment in my own life. Never again has the Holy Father moved along the via Sacra—it was the last occasion on which the Pope went forth in state from the Vatican (*Memories and Opinions*, p. 95). The whole chapter on the Council records interesting personal memories. It is worth noting that the first occasion on which Pius XI went forth from the Vatican sixty years later was in a similar Procession of the Blessed Sacrament. Ullathorne resumes :

June 19. The great debate alternates with the great festivals. Yesterday I may call a red letter day, four cardinals filled up the hours of discussion.[1] The most remarkable speech for force, originality, freedom, and the attention it fixed was by Cardinal Guidi, the Dominican. Thirty-three more names were inscribed on that day to speak, and unless something arises to call for what the French call *la clôture*, we shall have half the Council on its legs. The first list of archbishops begins to-morrow, and my turn comes almost immediately after them, in about a week from this. Only, your Dominican Cardinal has anticipated half my matter, and someone else might do the rest. Unless some special move is made to cut short difficulties we are fairly in for it, up to the middle of July.

[1] Pitra, Guidi, Archbishop of Bologna, Bonnechose of Rouen, Cullen of Dublin.

However, we begin to see approach towards a common centre.

June 28. What dire events from trifling causes spring! Last Saturday came my turn in the Council. I had an amendment on the great point on which I had spoken to several Fathers of the deputation of Faith, and to one of the Cardinal Presidents, all of whom thought it might not improbably serve as a basis for accommodation. It skimmed the fatal rock, whilst it secured what required to be made secure; so at least I thought. I looked hard at it for two days before, and was all ready; when, behold! on the very morning, I awoke at 4 o'clock as sick as a horse, if a horse ever is sick, and with a diarrhœa like an attack of cholera. So I was in bed all day, and the day following, and had to send for a doctor, who has put me right again, and I have no further indisposition.

Dr. Vaughan tried hard to get leave to read my speech, but there was an irrevocable rule, requiring that only those actually present, who from infirmity could not read for themselves, could be read for by another. Could I speak on my return to the Council? No. By a rule promulgated a few days before, those who lost their turn were off the list. I might put my name down to come on at the end. But to come in after ninety others, after 117 in all, was too much, so I have sent in my amendment as a private document to the deputation on Faith, which may be used, but cannot be printed so as to become a document of the Council.

You will naturally ask when will all this finish. I think in about three weeks we may come to voting. We have had so many feasts, including the Pope's election and crowning, and St. John the Baptist, and a Consistory yesterday, that there has been much time taken from the Council. I think, if we go on now a fortnight will see the end of the debate, and then we shall have the amendments to go through, and the votings of two different kinds, preliminary to the Session. All I can say is, that the peace of the Church will depend upon the prudence of the deputation and of the Pope. If they act with the

moderation of true wisdom all will go right. I trust and hope it will be so.

Bishop Vaughan has just got his leave of absence on the ground of the heat being serious for his infirmity, so he can leave when he likes. It is generally about 90 degrees of heat in the shade, but in a large place like the College, with closed shutters and mats outside the windows, we are better off than the bishops who are in private houses.

A good many bishops are suffering from sleepless nights, the night heat is so close and oppressive. Some have had to leave in consequence.

Ullathorne's proposed speech and amendment, which he sent privately to the deputation *de Fide*, is printed, along with forty others similarly sent in, in Mansi (IV (52), 1163).

The amendment was, to add *ex ecclesiae magisterio*, so that the definition would run: Cum omnium christianorum doctoris munere fungens ex ecclesiae magisterio pro apostolica sua auctoritate definit quid, etc.

In defining the Pontiff acts not by the authority of his subjects, but by his own authority as Christ's vicar; he acts as universal witness, as supreme judge, as universal teacher; but he acts not only on his own witness, but also on that of the Church. He acts, either his own mind being previously informed, or by the witness and counsel of others proportionate to the circumstances of the case. And so in defining the Pontiff always acts within the tradition of the Church. In hearing the supreme Pontiff we hear the Catholic Church herself.

If this is true, it ought to be expressed in the definition. Many more will read the definition than will hear explanations of it. And it should not mislead people through defect of words. The definition ought to carry its own light, and to explain itself. It should be so clear as to make it fully understood by all, that by declaring the Head infallible, the Catholic principle is not excluded.

July 2. I thought you might fancy I was continuing unwell, so I write at once, and tell you I am quite recovered,

and have been the two last days at the Council, which now begins at 8 each morning, continuing to 1¼ p.m. Through sundry compromises, several speakers have withdrawn their names, and, before this reaches you, I trust that discussion will have ended. Then will remain the most delicate and responsible work of the deputation of Faith, prior to voting on the amendments.

We now begin to see the end, and hope it may come about the 16th inst. when we shall be ready to start homewards. It is very oppressive weather, and a good many bishops are indisposed. I can scarcely imagine anything detaining us over a week beyond the time I have specified, and I don't see why we should not have the Session on the Feast of Carmel. An agreement was almost come to yesterday for all parties to resign their claims to speak, and simply to have their proposed amendments printed and considered, but to-day the almost agreement broke asunder. There is still a notion that the agreements may be renewed. But some prelates, once on their legs, forgot all but their own rhetoric, of which the Council is heartily tired. We had three such men this morning, of whom two were fairly cried down.

In my estimation the shrewdest man in the Council is a young Bishop from California, a native of Spain, but brought up in America, a little man, with broad shoulders, and a broad compact head, like that of the first Napoleon, and he never speaks above a few minutes, but he hits the nail on the head invariably. He neither argues, nor talks, but simply proposes amendments on the text and comes down again.

Freppel spoke a second time this morning. I missed him. But he is the most precise, clear, sharp-lined French speaker I ever heard. But recently made Bishop of Angers, he still has the bearing of a professor of the Sorbonne. He handles principles with force, because he is acute at distinctions as well as precise and trenchant. If you want the glare, the glittering flat-eyed glare of enthusiasm on an idea divested of all consideration for the world and the humanity in which it is to work, fanaticism in short, you must pick out certain men of Spanish birth or extraction.

One might think from them that fixed and hard ideas, pushed to the furthest extreme, were just the cure for all human ills. They very much need a dose from Dr. Newman's *Grammar of Assent*. They seem to fancy that men and women, the actual creatures of this world, are spirits living on fixed ideas, and devoid of disturbing elements. That is, they seem to think so, until it comes to the question of damnatory clauses, when at once they waken up to the vigour of the old Inquisition. It is painful to sit and see and hear men arguing on the exigencies of the human race, and plainly ignorant of all that is passing in the head and heart of that human race, beyond their own little fragment of it. But why should I inflict on you the scourge of fanaticism that has been inflicted on me and on others who have seen much of mankind in many ways, and who know that the human race cannot be sharply divided between luminous believers and deliberately malignant heretics. And yet these men have such kindly genial hearts, when you get through their crust of gravity and reserve towards strangers.

July 7. On Saturday, by mutual understanding, the speakers remaining on the list withdrew their names, and the great discussion came to a close. The sudden relief caused a good deal of hilarious congratulation. On Tuesday we voted on seventy-two proposed amendments to the 3rd chapter. On Saturday next we expect to assemble and vote on the proposed amendments to the all important 4th chapter. Then will follow a day for the voting by 'placet' 'non placet' or 'iuxta modum'. And on the 16th, the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, will be the Session. After that we shall be free to return home until October. It is said however among the officials, that those who remain, after twenty days' vacation, will go on with some work, so as to keep the Council in its moral continuance.

But I asked the Holy Father at an audience yesterday, whether we should be free to depart, and he replied, 'certainly'.

This audience on July 6 is the one referred to in Ullathorne's *Autobiography*. The following note is from the *Life of Bishop Ullathorne* (II, 77):

More than once during the Council, owing to the detached position he took up, Ullathorne was subjected to the annoyance of being looked on as of the Opposition. In later years one of his favourite stories of the Council was how an Italian bishop whispered at him the word 'Gallican', and how leaving his place and climbing over the intervening benches he confronted the offender and said, 'You call me "Gallican"?' 'And I fixed my glassy eye upon him'—with results left to be imagined. However, he thought it incumbent on him to make a personal explanation to Pius IX, and asked for an audience.

The note in the *Autobiography* runs (p. 46):

The sole object contemplated in the intended speech was to propose the addition of a term in the definition which might tend to greater clearness. As I knew that impressions had been made on the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff with respect to my views, I solicited a special audience, in which I informed His Holiness that from the time of my theological studies I had always been an infallibilist, and that all I desired was to see that the definition should be as clear as it could be made. But in fact the lines of explanation added to the decree before its promulgation accomplished all that I desired. With this explanation His Holiness expressed himself well satisfied.

When recounting the episode he used to say that Pius was so pleased that he patted him on the back, exclaiming, 'Bravo! bravo'!

NOTE

Two special subjects keenly discussed both in the debates and in the pamphlets and other writings circulated among the bishops, seem to call for a mention.

A. *The Case of Pope Honorius.*—This was recognized on all hands as one of the crucial issues, being the strongest obstacle from the side of Church History to the definition of papal infallibility: it was in fact

Hefele's principal ground of objection, as set out in the pamphlet he circulated.

It would serve no useful purpose to give a résumé of the controversy as carried on during the Council: for this reason a long letter of Ullathorne's has not been given. But as the point no doubt is still a living difficulty with many in the way of accepting the Vatican decree, I may venture to refer to the treatment of the question by Abbot Chapman in the *Dublin Reviews*, 1906-7, reprinted as a tract by the Catholic Truth Society; also his article 'Honorius' in *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

The attitude of the Ultramontane apologists and controversialists at the time of the Council was to question the authenticity of the documents, or to defend the substantial orthodoxy of Honorius' letters. Abbot Chapman says that both these positions should be abandoned: 'the authenticity of the documents is above suspicion'; and, in face of the decree of the Sixth Œcumenical Council and of divers papal acts, 'unquestionably no Catholic has the right to deny that Honorius was a heretic (though in the sense that Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia were heretics), a heretic in words, if not in intention.' 'It would no doubt be uncharitable to regard the Pope as a "private heretic"; but his letters, treated as definitions of faith, are obviously and beyond doubt heretical, for in a definition it is the words that matter.'

Abbot Chapman's treatment of the whole question is by the recital of the documents of the case from first to last. The conclusion is as follows:

> Therefore just as to-day we judge the letters of Pope Honorius by the Vatican definition, and deny them to be *ex cathedra*, because they do not define any doctrine and impose it upon the whole Church; so the Christians of the seventh century judged the same letters by the custom of their own day, and saw that they did not claim what papal

letters were wont to claim, viz. to speak with the mouth of Peter, in the name of Roman tradition. The grounds of both judgements are in reality the same, viz. that the Pope was not defining with authority and binding the Church.

B. *Text of the Council of Florence Decree of Union.*— The Florence Decree of Union with the Greeks is cited in chapter III of the Constitution on the Papacy as laying down that the Roman Pontiff has received from Christ in Peter the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the Universal Church, 'quemadmodum etiam in gestis œcumenicorum Conciliorum et sacris canonibus continetur'.

Over the word 'etiam' there had been a long-standing controversy, some MSS. having 'et'. It was said that 'etiam' was confirmatory, 'as is also contained in the Acts of Councils and the Canons', whereas 'et' would be restrictive, 'in the manner in which it is contained in the Acts of Councils and the Canons'.

Döllinger in 'Janus' had counted the substitution of 'etiam' for 'et' among the glaring papal falsifications of documents; and the point of reading was one of those hotly discussed at the Council. Recourse was made to the original decree, preserved at Florence, with the signatures of Pope and Emperor and of all the bishops, and with the leaden and golden bullae attached; 'etiam' was found in its text. It was found also in authentic official copies at the Vatican and elsewhere, also bearing the signatures of Pope and Emperor. So there can be no question but that 'etiam' is the true reading; no doubt the 'et' arose from the well-known abbreviation 'ẽt' for 'etiam', the abbreviation mark being dropped.

But some of the bishops urged that this question of the Latin text was not the one that really mattered. The original Decree is in Latin and Greek in parallel

columns, and it was the Greek form that the Greeks accepted and signed, most of them not knowing Latin. The Greek reads :

καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρακτίκοις τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων καὶ τοῖς ἱέροις κάνοσι διαλαμβάνεται.

It does look as if the Greek is ambiguous, susceptible of either meaning.

However that may be, the Vatican Constitution cannot be accused of garbling the text, because, in citing the Latin text, it uses the certainly genuine Latin reading.

CHAPTER XXII

THE DEPUTATION *DE FIDE* AND THE INFALLIBILITY DECREE

When the debate closed on July 4 the great task of the deputation *de Fide* began, the taking count of the divers amendments proposed and of the reasons urged in support of them in the speeches made. But before coming to this, let us look back and take stock of what had happened on the deputation in regard to the infallibility decree from the date, just after Easter, when the deputation first set its hand to this, the great burning question of the Council.

And here it is right to warn the reader that this chapter and the next will in great measure be concerned with points of somewhat technical theology: it is hoped indeed to exhaust in this place the purely theological side of the question.

During March the bishops had written their 'observations' or 'animadversions' on the schema prepared by the commission of theologians on the Roman Pontiff, his Primacy and his Infallibility; and these observations had been analysed and scheduled by the theologians of the deputation. On April 29 the formal announcement was made that the question of the Papacy was to have precedence and to be brought on forthwith; and the next day, 30th, the Fathers had in their hands the digest of the bishops' observations.[1]

[1] Mansi, III (51), 971-1070.

The matter of the Primacy has been dealt with in Chapter XX; here we limit our attention to the Infallibility.

The formula animadverted on by the bishops was the one prepared by the theologians before the Council: it has been given in Chapter XXI (p. 90), and the actual definition as proposed is column A of the Table, p. 133.

Naturally much was said on the general question: the truth of the doctrine; its definableness, even if theologically true; its opportuneness. In particular the proposed definition was the object of much criticism; a number of other formulae were advocated as preferable, some seeking to clarify and strengthen the doctrine, others to weaken its implications; and a great variety of canons with anathemas were suggested. This mass of material was soon in the hands of the deputation. For the official history of the proceedings of the deputation on the infallibility definition we have the minutes of the sessions (Mansi, V (53), 238 ff.; *Lac* 1678); but these are supplemented in a most interesting way by Senestréy's Diary of what took place on the deputation.[1]

From it we learn that during Holy Week, April 10-16, private meetings of members of the deputation were held in Manning's rooms. Those who forgathered thus, the inner circle of the infallibilists, were: Manning himself, Senestréy of Ratisbon, Ledochowski of Gnesen and Posen, d'Avanzo of Calvi, Martin of Paderborn, Zinelli of Treviso, de Preux of Sion (Switzerland), Steins, Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta, Leahy of Cashel. They agreed that the formula of the definition as drafted by the theologians (form A) should be retained for the present, it being certain that during the debate many formulae would be sug-

[1] Mansi, V (53), 276; *Lac* 1695.

gested, and when it was over and all the formulae were before them, the best could be taken; but to put forward another formula now as the official text to be discussed would cause confusion. It appears that Martin of Paderborn wanted to bring in another formula, but at the urgent request of the others he agreed to withhold it.

It was on April 27 that the constitution on the Roman Pontiff came before the deputation for consideration. Its duty was to consider the animadversions of the bishops, and to endeavour to produce a schema so modified as to meet any wishes for which there was a notable backing of opinion. The task of the deputation was no easy one; a hundred and forty observations on the infallibility had been put in by the bishops, some of great length, some the joint work of groups of bishops. During three sessions the report of the theologian, Maier, a canon of Ratisbon, no doubt Senestréy's theologian, was read and discussed. With some amendments it was adopted, and was circulated among the bishops on May 9.[1] On May 4 began the actual discussion by the deputation itself on the infallibility schema. Considerable divergences of opinion manifested themselves among the members of the deputation. One (not Manning) wished for a statement that infallibility exists in the Church only through her conjunction with her head, the Roman Pontiff, and is infused into her by his magisterium. Another desired the clause, the Roman Pontiff 'teaching along with the body of bishops'. Another wished the obligation to be laid on all of receiving with full obedience of faith all definitions of the Roman Pontiff in matters of faith and morals, and with full assent of mind all his supreme decrees and judgements. Some proposed quite new

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 12; *Lac* 277.

formulae for the definition. At the end of the session on the morning of May 5, Cardinal Bilio, the chairman, put to the deputation the question, which of the proposed formulae for the definition should be chosen? and the minutes say: 'it was decided that the formula proposed by Bishop Martin of Paderborn should be adopted.' The crucial point, and a very crucial one, of the new formula were the words italicized: 'when he defines in matters of faith and morals what is to be believed by the universal Church *as of Catholic faith*.' Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco made a proposal that came to the same thing: 'When he defines *under censure of heresy*.' The theological aspects of the matter will be discussed just now. A second meeting of the deputation was held the same day, May 5, in the evening. The minutes say that the theologian (it was Franzelin) brought forward a revised form of Martin's proposal: 'when he defines in matters of faith and morals what is to be believed and held, or rejected, by the universal Church as of divine faith.' Agreement, however, could not be attained, and the question was postponed until the next day. At that meeting another Jesuit theologian, Schrader, proposed a few alterations not affecting the import of the definition: there was further discussion, and the thing was again postponed. Next day arose a keen controversy (acrior controversia) over the proposed definition, two urging that by it not only the Pope's infallibility but that of the Church was restricted to revealed truths. The minutes state that Franzelin was able to meet the objection, and the definition in this form was passed, as also the whole text of the constitution on the Roman Pontiff, to be submitted to the Council for debate. It was printed and circulated among the bishops on May 9.

The above is what the minutes of the deputation record on the controversy among its members; the

account is supplemented by Senestréy's Diary, which gives a more personal and a more lively picture of what took place. In some details the two accounts do not tally, but Senestréy's general picture is no doubt substantially true to fact. It is reproduced here practically in full :

SENESTRÉY'S DIARY

(References, page 120 footnote.)

The draft schema for the formula of definition of infallibility prepared by the theological commision in case it should be needed, had been composed by Cardinal Bilio [who had been president of the commission], and had been approved by the Pope. Therefore it was a surprise to all that Cardinal Bilio at the meeting of the deputation *de Fide* on May 5, when none of the Fathers said anything against the formula, himself began to argue against it : No more can be defined concerning the infallibility of the Pope than has been defined concerning the infallibility of the Church ; but of the Church this only is of faith, that she is infallible in dogmatic definitions strictly taken ; therefore the question arises whether in the proposed formula the infallibility of the Pope be not too widely extended. The Cardinal did not deny, nay he maintained as certain, that the Pope is infallible also in dogmatic facts, in the canonization of saints, and in other things of like moment, just as the Church is infallible in such. He added that he greatly desired that at this Vatican Council it should be defined that the Church is infallible not only in dogmatic definitions, but also in dogmatic facts, in the canonization of saints, and the approbation of religious Orders. But as now there was question of defining the infallibility of the Pope before the infallibility of the Church had been dealt with, the formula said more than ought to be said.

It was replied that though the infallibility of the Church had never been defined, it was a fundamental dogma ; as therefore it is of faith that the Church is infallible, let the same be defined of the Pope. Bilio, however, would not put the question to the vote, and fixed another meeting for that same evening, at which he continued urging against

the formula the same objections. He said that the chief theologians defended the infallibility of the Pope only in defining dogmas.[1] By this argumentation many Fathers of the deputation were deceived, not observing that those theologians defended the infallibility of the Pope in defining dogmas as a certain truth of faith, or proximately such, and moreover held it to be theologically certain that the Pope is infallible also in dogmatic facts, in censures short of heresy,[2] and this in the same way as the Church is infallible. Dechamps, Spalding, Steins, and Martin, through desire of conciliating opponents, supported Bilio's argumentation; others strongly resisted it; and there was a long dispute.

Next day, May 6, Bilio called to the meeting two theologians [the Jesuits Schrader and Franzelin], who made statements as to what could be defined. Then Bilio produced a new formula which Martin had given him before the meeting. The theologians recommended it as apt to solve the difficulties. On the opinions being taken, some accepted it, others 'iuxta modum', two entirely rejected it. Bilio concluded that the formula was accepted by all except two. [There can be no doubt that the 'two' were Senestréy himself and Manning.]

The next day, May 7, they returned to the new formula, and the two who objected to it exposed their reasons. The principal reason was, that what it declared was only this, that the Pope cannot err when he defines what is to be believed expressly by divine faith; it would be commonly taken that only such definitions *de Fide* are infallible. [The minutes say they urged that not only the infallibility of the Pope, but that of the Church was thereby limited to what was revealed.] The theologian Franzelin pointed out that the difficulty could be met by an addition, which was adopted.

In this way the formula B, p. 133, was produced, which the deputation laid before the Council as the

[1] This statement is borne out by the teaching of such representative Ultramontane theologians as Perrone, Guéranger, and Dechamps, cited vol. I, pp. 75, 151.

[2] E.g. 'erroneous', 'temerarious', 'scandalous', etc.

text to be debated, and it was circulated among the Fathers on May 9.

Manning has left a note on the episode, among his reminiscences of his last years:

> On the secret history of the deputation *de Fide* see a Latin memorandum by the Bishop of Ratisbon [Senestréy's Diary], of which no use must be made while Cardinal Bilio lives, nor after his death in any way to dim the great name of one whom I love much. I have said in another place, how humbly before the Conclave he spoke of his own weakness of character. In the deputation *de Fide* he was overborne by Malines (Dechamps) and Paderborn (Martin), and had a fear of French bishops, who beset him in private.[1]

And it was during these discussions, on account of their intransigent attitude, that Bilio said to Manning and Senestréy, ' Non ita sunt tractandae res Ecclesiae '.[2] The fact of course was that Bilio and Dechamps and Martin were trained dogmatic theologians, which Manning was not. Of course also, they were desirous that a formula should be found, adequate in itself, that would secure the adhesion of the Minority and so bring about a moral unanimity; and, as Ullathorne's letters show, the more responsible leaders of the Majority went on hoping against hope till near the end that such a solution could be found. But Manning's whole mentality was different: as always, his own view was simply *right*, and he wanted it defined in the most absolute way, opponents to be crushed. And so he proposed various formulae stretching the doctrine to extreme limits, and to be enforced by stringent canons under anathema. One of these was adversely commented on by the deputation's theologian.[3]

[1] Purcell, *Life of Manning*, II, 454. [2] Ibid., 583.
[3] Mansi, III (51), 698.

In regard to the new formula for the definition (B), adopted at the deputation for submission to the Council, there are discrepancies in detail as to its origin, between Senestréy's Diary, which attributes it to Bilio, and the minutes of the deputation which show that it was the outcome of revisions made by Franzelin and Schrader of a form first proposed by Martin of Paderborn. If it be compared with the original draft of the theologians first put before the bishops (A) the following principal differences will be noticed:

(1) The Pope's *ex cathedra* decrees are said to be 'irreformable of themselves'—this against the fourth of the Gallican Declarations: it had been called for by a number of the bishops in their Observations.

(2) So also had the clause that they are to be received with full assent of faith by every Christian as soon as he becomes aware of them.

(3) But by far the most vital change was the insertion of the words 'as of faith', and 'as contrary to faith' (tamquam de fide, tamquam fidei contrarium). These words limited the infallibility to definitions *de Fide* and condemnations under the censure of 'heresy'. Hereby was involved a theological question long debated in the schools. The Catechism definition of 'Faith' runs: 'Faith is a supernatural gift of God—a grace—which enables us to believe without doubting whatever God has revealed.' God the Revealer is the motive of Faith, and only what He has revealed, only what is in 'the depositum', be it contained in Scripture or in Tradition, explicitly or at least implicitly, can be the object of divine Faith. We have heard Bilio formulate the theological difficulty (in Senestréy's Diary): this is all that could be said to be of Catholic Faith; and therefore the definition of Papal infallibility could not be extended wider than the certain sphere of the Church's infallibility. He himself held

the ordinary opinion of theologians, that the infallibility of the Church does extend beyond the limits of what is of divine Faith as revealed by God; that such things as the canonization of saints, the approbation of religious Orders, condemnations of propositions under censures short of 'heresy', and dogmatic facts intimately bound up with the safeguarding of revealed truth, do fall within the sphere of the Church's infallibility, and are to be accepted with interior assent, not by divine Faith, because they are not revealed truths, but by what is called 'ecclesiastical faith' in the teaching authority of the Church. This is the common teaching of theologians, but it has never been defined, and discussions are still current over the whole question. As Bilio pointed out, the difficulty arose from the change in the order of business, whereby the infallibility of the Pope was being taken before the infallibility of the Church had been dealt with. As will be seen, the Vatican Council deliberately left this question untouched, and defined the papal infallibility in such a way as to leave these theological questions undecided.[1] Manning and Senestréy had good grounds for their contention that the formula put forward by Martin and Bilio, if enacted by the Council, would be taken as an authoritative Conciliar pronouncement on the theological controversy as to the extent of infallibility, deciding it in favour of the opinion that limited infallibility of Pope and Church

[1] See the useful tract by Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P., *Infallibility*, Section III, 'Object', for a clear statement of the theological issues. It is surprising that the draft schema on the Church prepared by the theologians does not in the chapter 'Infallibility' come to grips with this question. It is couched in terms that may include dogmatic facts and censures less than 'heresy', but could not be applied to canonizations and approbations of religious Orders: it is confined to what is necessary for the safe-keeping of the 'depositum'. (Mansi, III (51), 542; *Lac* 570.)

alike to the sphere of things revealed by God. For all that, the formula was adopted with practical unanimity by the deputation, including such men as Dechamps, Pie, Spalding, Leahy, and was the one put before the Council in the deputation's revised schema, circulated May 9, and debated at the General Congregations from May 13 until July 4. It was not until July 9 that the formula actually enacted (C, p. 133) was proposed by the deputation (Mansi, IV (52), 1194).

It is not surprising that, as we learn from Senestréy, great dissatisfaction was felt among the more ardent spirits of the infallibilists when the changed form of the formula became known: it seemed to them to have been 'not reformed but deformed', and private meetings were held in the rooms of the Archbishop of Bourges, attended by Manning, Senestréy, Mermillod, Fillion of Le Mans, and others. It was agreed that every effort should be made to have the new formula withdrawn and the first one restored.[1]

The next meeting of the deputation was on May 22. Bilio said that the formula proposed by the deputation was, in regard to the object (i.e. the extent) of the Pope's infallibility, displeasing to a great number of Fathers, and asked if a new formula should be drafted? After a long discussion it was agreed unanimously to wait until new formulae should be proposed by the Fathers of the Council, and the best one then be taken. Senestréy's account of this session is that Bilio now urged against the formula the very objections that Senestréy himself and Manning had urged. Martin, Dechamps, Spalding, Steins defended the formula; the others thought it should be emended. Bilio thought that an historical preamble should be added, meeting the objection that it was left open to

[1] A long argued statement of the objections to the new formula is to be found, *Lac* 1704.

the Pope to act without counsel, deliberation, or the use of scientific helps, when defining doctrines. A new schema of the chapter was therefore laid before the deputation, June 8, by the theologians Franzelin and Kleutgen.[1] In compliance with Bilio's idea of an historical preamble, it contained the first draft of what became the central portion of the constitution as enacted. The formula of the actual definition—'when exercising the office of supreme teacher he defines by his judgement, questions of faith or morals'—was criticized as too indeterminate and wide-reaching: for instance, Pie objected that the obedience of faith was claimed for decrees on things not revealed. As Senestréy says, it did not give satisfaction.

The public special discussion on chapter IV, 'the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff', began in the Council at the General Congregation of June 15. The schema and definition debated were still those proposed by the deputation on May 9, so that the definition was in form B, with the words 'as of faith'. At the next Congregation, June 18, Cardinal Cullen proposed as an amendment his new formula of the definition, form C, p. 133. It has naturally been supposed that the formula was Cullen's own, and to him has been accorded the honour of formulating the actual definition; but Senestréy tells us that its author again was Bilio, who suggested it to Cullen.[2] And the next day, June 19, Bilio produced at the deputation a new schema of chapter IV, prepared by the theologians, and which became substantially the basis of the chapter as finally enacted. On June 24 another formula of the definition was proposed to the deputation by Manning and Franchi (afterwards Cardinal): 'The Roman Pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra* is

[1] Mansi, V (53), 257; *Lac* 1643.
[2] 'Quam ipsi Card. Bilio suggesserat.'

equally infallible as if he defined along with the bishops, congregated in General Council.' On June 26 the deputation discussed Cullen's formula; the question was considered whether it should be adopted at once, and proposed to the Council by the deputation. It was decided again that no new formula be put forward by the deputation until the public discussion was finished, when the best of all the formulas proposed could be adopted; moreover, that the actual formula of the schema (B) should not be easily abandoned.

At this point among the minutes of the deputation is a report by Zinelli of Treviso: it appears that some were urging that it should be defined that the infallibility of the Church is derived from and depends on that of the Pope. He says that such a position is highly controversial and to be avoided. As the infallibility of the Church is certain Catholic doctrine, he advises that Cullen's form, proceeding from the certain to the uncertain, should be adopted.

On July 3 the deputation discussed other formulae of the definition, one by Manning, against which it was objected that it left indefinite in what kind of decrees the Pope is infallible. Another, Gasser of Brixen, suggested they should be equated with the decrees of General Councils, to be received with the same grades of assent. No conclusion was come to.

On July 4 the public debate on the text of chapter IV came to an end, and the theologians set to work to schedule and report on the amendments proposed. The scheduled emendations ran to ninety-six;[1] moreover, a great number of emendations, some very lengthy, were put in privately in writing, numbering forty-eight.[2]

On July 7 the deputation took in hand the amend-

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1121; *Lac* 372. [2] Mansi, IV (52), 1140.

ments. The five theologians took part: the Jesuits Kleutgen, Franzelin, Schrader; the Dominican Bianchi; and Canon Maier of Ratisbon. It was first agreed to change the title of the chapter from 'the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff' to 'the infallible magisterium of the Roman Pontiff': this was in effect a recognition of Guidi's main contention, in that it attributes the infallibility not to the Pope himself, but to his 'magisterium', or teaching authority; not to his person, but to his definitions.

Next, the historical preamble which forms the central portion of the constitution as enacted (§§ 2, 3, 4), as drafted by Martin of Paderborn, was adopted as meeting a number of the proposed amendments, as in fact it did. Then came the amendments of the formula of definition. There were fifty such amendments as the result of the debate, and a number of others were put in privately in writing: in all, quite a hundred formulae had been suggested. If the minutes of the deputation convey the impression that these amendments were very hurriedly dealt with and rejected without due consideration, the reason was that Cullen's formula had been practically agreed on as the one to be adopted for final recommendation to the Council; and so the other amendments, being based on the form debated (B), were automatically ruled out. When Cullen's formula was reached it was adopted.

There remained the question of canons with anathema to be attached to chapter IV, as to the first three chapters. Some twenty such canons had been proposed in the debate, and many more in the private discussions of the deputation. A long discussion ensued, at which it appeared that no agreement among the members of the deputation could be secured; accordingly it was decided that no canon be added, but the final sentence be deemed sufficient: 'If any one presume to contradict this definition, let him

know that he has fallen away from the truth of Catholic Faith and from the unity of the Church.' The next day, however, they agreed on a general canon, substituting 'let him be anathema' for 'let him know, etc.'

These deliberations of the deputation took up the three days, July 7, 8, 9; and on this last day were distributed to the bishops the new historical preamble (§§ 2, 3, 4 of the Constitution), and the new formula of the definition (the one enacted, C, p. 133). At the General Congregation on July 11 Gasser of Brixen was spokesman for the deputation in setting forth the reasons for their recommendations. His speech is of such importance as to claim a chapter to itself.

Formulae of Definition

Out of the hundred and more modifications proposed for the formula of the definition, three stand out as having been officially put forward and subjected to the criticisms of the bishops. These are exhibited in the annexed Table:

A is the formula prepared by the theologians before the Council, circulated on March 6, and criticized by the bishops in written Observations submitted to the deputation *de Fide*.

B is the formula as revised by the deputation, circulated on May 9, and debated at the General Congregations during May and June; the text that was the basis of the amendments proposed at these debates.

C is the formula finally proposed by the deputation, July 9, accepted at General Congregation, 11th, passed 13th, and finally enacted, 18th, the last clause being added on 16th.

A. Proposed by Theologians and commented on by the Bishops in written Observations.	B. Proposed by Deputation and Debated at the Public Discussions.	C. Form Finally Enacted.
The Roman Pontiff cannot err when, exercising the office of supreme teacher of all Christians, he defines with authority what in matters of faith and morals is to be held by the universal Church :	The Roman Pontiff by the power of the divine assistance promised to him, cannot err when, exercising the office of supreme teacher of all Christians, he defines with his apostolic authority what in matters of faith and morals is to be held by the universal Church as of faith, or is to be rejected as contrary to faith : and such decrees or judgements, irreformable of themselves, are to be received and held by every Christian with the full obedience of faith as soon as they become known to him.	The Roman Pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when exercising the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, he defines with his supreme apostolic authority a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, through the divine assistance promised to him in St. Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed his Church to be endowed in defining doctrine concerning faith and morals : and therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves [and not from the consent of the Church].
And this prerogative of inerrancy or infallibility of the Roman Pontiff reaches to the same object as the infallibility of the Church extends to.	And because infallibility is the same whether it be regarded in the Roman Pontiff as the head of the Church, or in the universal Church teaching in union with the head, we define that this infallibility extends also to one and the same object.	

CHAPTER XXIII

BISHOP GASSER'S EXPOSITION

Mgr. Vincent Gasser, Prince-Bishop of Brixen, Austrian Tyrol, stands out as the most prominent theologian of the Council. His Exposition, as spokesman of the deputation *de Fide*, on July 11, was the longest speech made at the Council, running to twenty-seven columns of Mansi, and taking nearly four hours in delivery. Before coming to the amendments Gasser made a review of the whole subject, dwelling on the objections raised and explaining the attitude of the deputation with such clearness and such moderation, that it is the best account known to me of the whole controversy waged at the Vatican Council over the question of Papal infallibility. Therefore I trust I shall be acting in accord with the wishes of those interested in the theology of the subject, in giving a somewhat full analysis of this great speech.[1]

After going over the Scriptural and traditional aspects of the argument for Papal infallibility, and justifying the citation of the three General Councils in the first paragraph of the chapter as really implying the doctrine, he came to the objections and difficulties that had been urged against it. And first, that by the definition the divine constitution of the Church will be changed, because for the future General Councils will not be necessary. I reply: they will be as necessary in the future as in the past; absolutely they never were necessary in order that the faithful who were of good will might know the truth with certainty, for this they

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1204; *Lac* 388.

Mgr. Martin,
Bishop of Paderborn

Mgr. Gasser,
Bishop of Brixen

could always know from the ordinary magisterium of the Church, the bishops in union with the Roman Pontiff. They were not necessary for the knowing of the truth, but for the suppression of error. When errors were widespread and the Christian world was in danger, the Catholic Church opposed to them her most solemn judgement in a General Council. But the most solemn judgement of the Church in faith and morals is, and always will be, the judgement of an œcumenical Council, in which the Pope pronounces judgement, the bishops of the Catholic world sitting and judging along with him.

It is insisted: General Councils in future will not be free; the bishops will no more be real judges. I reply, they will be as free as they were in the past. For in the future, Councils will be held either with or without a previous dogmatic definition of the Pope on the point at issue. If there be none such, and the Pope leave the matter to be dealt with wholly by the Council, then the Council will use its liberty freely in the Lord. If a dogmatic definition has preceded the Council, it will act as the Third of Constantinople and as Chalcedon acted in face of the dogmatic letters of Popes Agatho and Leo.

He then went on to speak of the three words that from the beginning had been at the root of nearly all the controversy: the Pope's *personal*, *separate*, *absolute* infallibility; for the whole matter hinges on these notions.

In what sense is the Pope's infallibility *personal?* It is personal in that it belongs to the Roman Pontiff, not the Roman Church, or the Roman See. The infallibility is personal in as far as it belongs to each legitimate occupant of the Roman See. But it is not personal as belonging to the Pope as private person or private doctor. So we do not speak of personal infallibility although we attribute it to the person of the Roman Pontiff, not as an individual person, but as a public person, the Head of the Church in his relation to the Universal Church. Nor is the Pope infallible simply as Pope, but as subject to the divine assistance guiding him. For as Pope he is always the supreme judge in faith and morals, and the father and teacher of all Christians; but he enjoys the divine assistance, whereby

he cannot err, only when really and actually (reipsa et actu) exercising the office of supreme judge in controversies of faith, and of teacher of the universal Church. Therefore the sentence, 'The Roman Pontiff is infallible', is not to be blamed as false, because Christ promised it to the person of Peter and the person of his successor; but only as incomplete, as the Pope is infallible only when by his solemn judgement he defines matters of faith or morals for the universal Church.

In what sense is the infallibility of the Pope to be called *separate?* It may be called separate, or rather distinct, because it is founded on the special promise of Christ, and on the special assistance of the Holy Ghost, which is not the same as that enjoyed by the whole body of the teaching Church joined with its Head. The relation of Peter and his successor to the Church is quite special, and to this special and distinct relation responds a special and distinct privilege. In this sense the Pope's infallibility is separate. But we do not thereby separate the Pope from his ordinated conjunction with the Church. For he is infallible only when as doctor of all Christians, that is, as representing the universal Church, he judges and defines what is to be believed or rejected by all. He can no more be separated from the Church than the foundation can be separated from the building it bears. Further, we do not separate the Pope infallibly defining from the co-operation and concourse of the Church, at any rate in this sense, that we do not exclude such co-operation and such concourse of the Church. The end is the preservation of truth in the Church, generally when some controversy arises, and some question is referred to the Holy See for settlement. Here we do not exclude the co-operation of the Church, because the Pope's infallibility does not come to him by way of inspiration or revelation, but by way of divine assistance. Hence the Pope is bound by his office and the gravity of the matter to take the means apt for ascertaining the truth and enouncing it; and such means are Councils, or the counsel of bishops, cardinals, theologians, etc. These means will be different in different cases; and we ought piously to believe that in the divine assistance given to Peter and his

successors by Christ there is included a promise as to the means necessary and apt for making an infallible judgement by the Pope.

Finally, we do not in the least separate the Pope from the consent of the Church, provided that consent be not put as a condition, be it antecedent or consequent consent. We cannot separate the Pope from the consent of the Church because this consent can never be withheld. As we believe the Pope to be by divine assistance infallible, we thereby believe also that the assent of the Church can never be wanting to these definitions; as it is not possible that the body of bishops can be separated from their head, nor can the universal Church fail.

In what sense is the Pope's infallibility *absolute?* In no sense is it absolute, because absolute infallibility belongs to God alone. The Pope's is restricted by limitations and conditions, as set forth in the definition.

But many Fathers want more than this; they want conditions introduced into the definition, as that the Pope must have recourse to proper means, or that a formula must be used making it explicit that the definition is *ex cathedra*. More important: it is urged that the help of the Church, the assent of the Church, that is, the witness and the counsel of the bishops, not only cannot be excluded from the definition of infallibility, but it ought to be placed in the definition as one of the conditions that are of faith. And so, this condition is said to be of faith: and how is it proved? Is it in the promise of Christ? But, 'Do thou confirm thy brethren' is the relation between Peter and the Apostles, and therefore between the successor of Peter and the successors of the Apostles, the bishops, contained in the promise of Christ; whence we should conclude that the bishops need the help and the counsel of Peter's successor, and not vice versa.

But this opinion has been urged not so much by appeal to Scripture as to certain axioms. The *first axiom* is: The members should be joined to the head and the head to the members; whence is drawn the conclusion of a strict and absolute necessity of the counsel and help of the bishops in every dogmatic judgement of the Roman Pontiff, so that

it should have place in the definition. It is on this point, of strict and absolute necessity, that the whole difference between us lies ; not the opportuneness or relative necessity of such procedure, which is to be left to the judgement of the Pope according to circumstances.

It is said that once the Pope has issued a dogmatic definition, bishops no less than priests and laity are bound to submit to his infallible authority ; but this is not so before the definition has been made : and the bishops should concur in the making of such a definition. Here we come to the *second axiom :* As the bishops can do nothing in making dogmas of faith without the Pope, similarly the Pope can do nothing without them. The first part is true, because decrees of faith even made by a General Council are not infallible and firm unless confirmed by the Pope. The reason of this is not the one which I have sometimes heard, I say it with sorrow, alleged in this ambo, namely, as if all the infallibility of the Church were seated in the Pope and from the Pope derived and communicated to the Church. This according to a certain celebrated theological system might be said of jurisdiction ; but I cannot understand how infallibility could be communicated. The true reason is that this infallibility was given by Christ to the entire magisterium of the Church, that is to the Apostles along with Peter. But conversely, can the Pope do nothing without the bishops? Not so, for Christ said to Peter alone, 'Thou art Peter', etc., and 'I have prayed for thee', etc.

Now for the *third axiom :* The consent of the churches is the rule of faith, which even the Pope should follow ; and therefore before the definition he ought to consult the rulers of the churches that he may be certain as to the consent of the churches. We here come to the crucial point. It is true that the Pope in his definitions *ex cathedra* has the same founts (fontes) as the Church has, Scripture and Tradition. It is true that the agreement of the present preaching of the whole magisterium of the Church united with its Head is the rule of faith even for definitions by the Pope. But from this can by no means be deduced a strict and absolute necessity of inquiring about it from the bishops. For such agreement can very often be deduced

from clear testimonies of Holy Scripture, from the agreement of antiquity, that is, of the holy Fathers, from the opinions of doctors, or in other private ways, which suffice for full information. That strict necessity, such as would be necessary for inclusion in a dogmatic decree, cannot be established. There may be a case so difficult that the Pope deems it necessary for his information to inquire from the bishops, as the ordinary means, what is the mind of the churches: such was the case regarding the Immaculate Conception: but such a case cannot be set up as the rule.

Moreover, it is agreed that this rule of the consent of the churches is valid only in its positive sense; namely, that whatever the universal Church unanimously by its present preaching receives and venerates as revealed, is certainly true and Catholic. But supposing dissension arises between particular churches, and controversies follow concerning Faith, what then? According to the canon of Vincent of Lerins, recourse must be had to the consent of antiquity, to Scripture and the Fathers, and from the consent of antiquity the dissent of present preaching is to be resolved.

The dogmatic judgements of the Roman Pontiffs are for the greater part concerned with controversies on faith in which recourse is had to the Holy See; and the Pope should define them principally from Scripture, Fathers, Doctors, and especially from the tradition of the Roman Church. Whoever therefore contends that the Pope, either for information, or for an infallible judgement on faith or morals, depends wholly on the manifested consent of the bishops, or on their help, must lay down that false principle, that all the dogmatic judgements of the Pope are in themselves and of themselves reformable, unless the consent of the Church is given to them [the Fourth Gallican Article].

But this system is either arbitrary, or else subversive of all papal infallibility. Arbitrary, if the assent of a greater or lesser part of the bishops be required; for who will fix the number? who will make choice, as in this respect bishops are equal, and the assent of some cannot prejudice the assent and judgement of others. From this arbitrary

system, especially if it be question of subsequent assent, whether tacit or expressed, history tells us what anxieties, troubles, and scandals arise. This system is subversive of all papal infallibility, if the assent of the whole Church be required; for then there is in fact but one infallibility, which resides only in the whole body of the teaching Church. In this case the decrees of the Roman Pontiff can and ought to be reformed by a General Council; for meanwhile the assent of the Church is not so manifest as that it cannot be denied: the Pope is not infallible except with a General Council. And, unless we are to fall back on the infallibility of the Pope defining by himself alone, he could confirm only those decrees of a Council approved by a majority of the bishops, or rather by all. If the bishops do not agree? It would be all over with the judgement of the Church, which yet is the 'pillar and ground of truth'.

Gasser then came to the emendations. He went through them briefly, indicating the reasons why the deputation considered most of them unacceptable; the ground had been covered by what he had already said. The tenth emendation was the historical preamble (§§ 2, 3, 4 of the constitution), the import of which he recommended as meeting a number of the desires expressed in the emendations and in the debate.

On coming to the amendments to the definition, he dealt first with those that proposed the insertion of some condition. That which had most backing was the formula of St. Antoninus—'using the counsel and seeking the help of the universal Church';—this had been proposed by several leaders of the Minority, as Rauscher, Dupanloup, Ketteler, Meignan, and it certainly would have been accepted by almost all, and would have secured practically universal consent to the definition. The deputation objected to it that it was vague and indefinite, and likely to give rise to controversies and uncertainties as to whether the counsel and help of the Church had been in any given case

properly used. On the same ground, or as unduly limiting the infallibility, they advised the rejection of all the other conditions that had been proposed, holding that the insertion made in the preamble was as much as could be allowed.[1]

He then came to the new formula, Cullen's, which was the one finally and definitely adopted unanimously by the deputation for the definition. He gave a full explanation of its import, which being authoritative as to the mind of the deputation, is summarized here. The reader will find the formula in column C of the Table of formulae, p. 133.

In this definition the *subject* of the infallibility, i.e. the person who exercises it, is the Roman Pontiff as Pontiff, as a public person in relation with the universal Church.

The quality and *condition* of the act of infallible definition is that the Pope speaks *ex cathedra*. This term is received in the schools, and its meaning is defined as follows : 'When the Pope speaks not as a private doctor, or as bishop of a diocese, but as exercising the office of supreme pastor and teacher of all Christians.' Moreover, not every way suffices of propounding a doctrine, even as supreme pastor and teacher; but there must be the intention manifested of defining a doctrine, or of putting an end to controversy on some doctrine, by giving a definitive sentence, and propounding that doctrine as to be held by the universal Church. And this property and note of definition in the strict sense the Pope should at least in some measure express when he defines a doctrine to be held by the universal Church.

The third thing contained in the definition is the principle or the *efficacious cause* of infallibility : it is the protection of Christ and the assistance of the Holy Ghost.

Lastly, as to the *object* of infallibility : it is promised for the guarding and expounding of the whole deposit of faith. Hence its object is doctrine of faith and morals. But not

[1] The sentence : 'Romani autem Pontifices . . . cognoverant' (§ 2) : see Appendix.

all truths pertaining to faith and morals are equally necessary for guarding the integrity of the deposit. Hence it follows that errors are opposed in various grades to the safeguarding of the deposit, according as the truths to which they are opposed pertain more or less to the deposit. And these various grades of errors are distinguished by various notes of censure.

Hence (1), it is certain that the infallibility promised by God, be it in the whole universal teaching Church defining truths in Councils, or be it in the supreme Pontiff, reaches to absolutely the same range of truths.

(2) Without any doubt this infallibility, whether in Pontiff or in teaching Church, reaches to those things which in themselves make up the deposit of faith, namely to the defining dogmas of faith and the condemning heresies. Hence all children of the Church must believe by faith that the Church is infallible in propounding and defining dogmas of faith. And in the same way the infallibility of the Head of the Church cannot be defined without defining that the Pontiff is infallible in defining dogmas of faith.

But (3), other truths cohere more or less strictly with revealed dogmas, truths which though themselves not revealed, yet are required for guarding intact the deposit of revelation, rightly explaining it, and efficaciously defining it: to such truths belong dogmatic facts, inasmuch as without them the deposit of faith cannot be safeguarded and expounded; such truths do not in themselves belong to the deposit of faith, but to the safeguarding of it. Hence Catholic theologians commonly agree that the Church in her authentic propounding and defining of such truths, is infallible, so that to deny this infallibility would be a most grave error. Diversity of opinions is concerned only as to the grade of certainty: whether the infallibility in propounding these truths and in condemning errors by censures less than 'heresy', should be considered a dogma of faith, so that he who should deny this infallibility of the Church would be a heretic; or is it only a truth not itself revealed, but deduced from a revealed dogma, and therefore only theologically certain?

But since exactly the same has to be said of the infalli-

bility of the Pope in defining truths, as of the infallibility of the Church defining them, the same question arises as to the extension of the papal infallibility to truths of this order which are not revealed, but pertain to the safeguarding of the deposit : I say, the same question arises, as to whether the papal infallibility in defining truths of this kind be not only theologically certain, but also a dogma of faith. But as it seems right to the Fathers of the deputation with unanimous agreement, that this question be not defined now, but be left in the state in which it is, it follows necessarily that the decree of faith concerning the papal infallibility should so be worded as to define, concerning the object of infallibility in the definitions of the Roman Pontiff, that exactly the same is to be believed as is believed concerning the object of infallibility in the definitions of the Church.

This is secured by the definition that the Roman Pontiff in defining *ex cathedra* is possessed of that infallibility with which Christ wished His Church to be endowed. Thus the object of the Pope's infallibility extends neither more nor less widely than extends the infallibility of the Church in her definitions on faith and morals. Thus, just as it would be heretical to deny the Church's infallibility in defining dogmas of faith, so by this Vatican decree it will be no less heretical to deny the infallibility of the Pope himself (per se spectati) in definitions of dogmas of faith. But in those things in which it is theologically certain, though not yet certain by faith, that the Church is infallible, by this decree of the Council the Pope's infallibility similarly is not defined to be believed as of faith. But, with whatever theological certitude it is certain that these other objects are included in the range of the infallibility that the Church possesses in her definitions, with the like certitude is it to be held that infallibility extends to the same objects in definitions made by the Pope.

To complete in this place the theological aspects of the question, some further explanations made by Gasser five days later, 16th, will be given here : [1]

[1] Mansi, IV (52) 1316 ; *Lac* 474.

The meaning of *definit*—he defines—in the decree: I will say in a few words how according to the mind of the deputation this word *definit* is to be taken. The deputation does not mean it to be taken in a forensic sense, so as to mean only the putting an end to a controversy raised concerning heresy and doctrine which is properly of faith; but the word *definit* signifies that the Pope directly and terminatively issues his sentence about a doctrine of faith or morals, so that every one of the faithful can be certain of the mind of the Apostolic See, of the mind of the Roman Pontiff; in such way that he knows for certain that this or that doctrine is held by the Roman Pontiff to be heretical, or almost heretical, certain or erroneous, etc. This is the meaning of the verb *definit*.

It will be well to confine to this chapter what has to be said on the theological bearings of the discussions, and so we may consider what precisely it was that the Minority bishops were standing out for. It is true to say that the Gallican position, pure and simple, found hardly any supporters: the theory that a dogmatic decree of the Pope becomes known to be infallible and irreformable by virtue of the subsequent endorsement or acquiescence, at least tacit, of the general body of bishops. What the Minority tried to bring about was that Pope and Church should in some way be linked together in the definition, so that it might be clear that the Pope when making an *ex cathedra* definition, is giving utterance to the mind of the Church, is acting not only as the head but as the mouth of the mystic Body of Christ, speaking in union with the Church and under the influence of her magisterium and infallibility. Hence their insistence that a 'personal, separate, absolute' infallibility of the Pope was being set up, and this was the formula around which the controversy was waged all through the Council. It was, they said, a disuniting of head and body in the supreme matter of defining truth,

a decapitating of the Church, a decorporating of the Pope. Hence the greater number of amendments to the definition were attempts to get the Church in some way or other brought in. The proposal that had the greatest support was the formula of St. Antoninus—'using the counsel and help of the Church';—this would have secured a practically unanimous Minority vote for the definition. But the deputation objected that it was vague and uncertain in its application, and might lead to uncertainties and controversies as to whether in any given case the Pope had sufficiently sought the counsel of the Church.

Bellarmine's 'ex apostolica traditione' would have secured unanimity. Not much concession was needed to satisfy the Minority. For instance, Hefele of Rottenburg was one of the strongest and stiffest opponents of the definition; but he proposed a form that would make it acceptable by adding the clause: 'relying (innixus) either on the ecclesiastical tradition, or on the counsel and help of the whole magisterium.'[1] He added explanations: the second clause covers the ordinary exercises of infallibility, for it usually is exercised with either the antecedent or concurrent consent of the bishops; the first clause, 'relying on the ecclesiastical tradition', covers cases on which the tradition is clear, and on which the Pope therefore 'deems it proper to forgo consultation with the rest of the magisterium' (Pontifex a requisitione et consultatione reliqui magisterii supersedere congruum putat). He declared that this would bring about concord among the bishops. Similarly Moriarty at the end of his speech, June 28, proposed that every dogmatic decree should contain the clause: 'Having obtained the opinions (adhibitis suffragiis) of our brethren the Cardinals of the Roman Church and of other masters in theology':

[1] Mansi IV (52), 1183.

'for it would be absurd that the Pope should be bound to consult the whole Church on defining matters evidently belonging to the constant faith of the Church: but on the other hand he is bound always to obtain some counsel.'[1]

Very little would have satisfied them. One proposed, 'as head of the Body of Christ and mouth of the Church'. Others, 'according to the deposit of the divine tradition'; 'from the faith of the teaching Church'. Of this kind was Ullathorne's amendment, 'when he defines *ex magisterio ecclesiae*'. It is a pity he was prevented from putting it forward at the debate, so that it would have been scheduled, commented on by the deputation, and put to the vote of the Council. It would probably have been ruled out for the same reason as the others, as being vague and uncertain in its practical application. All would have accepted it as a correct piece of theory, for they all vehemently repudiated the assertion that they were isolating the Pope or separating him from the magisterium of the Church. They would all have said that when defining a doctrine *ex cathedra*, he certainly defines *ex magisterio ecclesiae*: but they were bent on killing the Gallican *ex consensu ecclesiae*, and were perhaps hyper-sensitively shy of anything that could give any kind of countenance to it. They regarded too these anxieties of the Minority as unnecessary and unreasonable. It was unthinkable, they said, that any Pope in so important a matter as dogmatic definitions or condemnations should act so rashly as to neglect to seek counsel and advice, or to make a serious study of the question, proportionate to the gravity of the case: God's general providence and the guidance of the Holy Ghost should be relied on to prevent any such failure in taking proper human means. And we have seen

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 928.

that this was all the Minority bishops, as Hefele and Moriarty, wished to secure: they saw that to consult the whole episcopate in every dogmatic decree, every condemnation of propositions as heretical, would be impossible and absurd.

The considerable historical preamble introduced at the eleventh hour was intended to meet these objections, and did so in some measure: we have Ullathorne's word that it did meet his own hesitations;[1] and Tarnoczy, Archbishop of Salzburg, said the same and felt able to vote 'placet' at the Final Session; also some of the French bishops, and others no doubt. The crucial sentence runs:

> The Roman Pontiffs according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, sometimes assembling œcumenical Councils or asking for the mind of the Church spread throughout the world, sometimes by particular synods, sometimes using other helps which divine Providence supplied, defined as to be held those things which with the help of God they had recognized as conformable with the Holy Scriptures and Apostolic Traditions. For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter, that by His revelation they might make known new doctrine; but that by His assistance they might inviolably guard and faithfully expound the revelation delivered through the Apostles, or the deposit of faith.

At the General Congregation of July 11, after Gasser's speech, the ninety-six amendments to chapter IV, which had been in the bishops' hands since the 7th, were put to the vote. The recommendations of the deputation *de Fide*, made in its name by Gasser, were all carried by overwhelming majorities: four important amendments were adopted, the rest rejected. The four adopted were:

[1] See Chapter XXI, p. 115.

the title, ' The Roman Pontiff's infallibility ', was changed to ' The Roman Pontiff's infallible magisterium ';

the historical preamble (§§ 2, 3, 4 of the decree) was incorporated;

the new form of the definition was adopted;

the canon was put under form of anathema, like the other canons.[1]

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1231; *Lac* 421.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LAST WEEK AND FINAL SESSION

Wednesday, July 13, was the crucial day of the Council. At the General Congregation on that day, first was put to the vote the text of chapter III, 'The Primacy', and of chapter IV, 'The Infallibility', as amended at the preceding Congregations. They were voted on separately, by the usual method of a twofold standing up: each time 'by far the greater part of the Fathers' showed their approval, and 'by far the smaller part' their disapproval, by standing up.[1]

Then took place what may be called the trial ballot on the Constitution as a whole, proem and four chapters. The voting was vocal, by 'placet', 'non placet', 'placet iuxta modum', according to the somewhat cumbersome method described by Ullathorne in letter of April 24 (Vol. I, p. 299), and it took from an hour and a half to two hours; but it secured that each one took full public personal responsibility for his vote. When the voting was over the result was announced:

total number of votes 601,
placet 451,
non placet 88,
placet iuxta modum 62.

About 76 actually in Rome absented themselves from the Congregation.[2] Those who voted 'iuxta

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1242.
[2] So in the Minority letter of 17th (below, p. 158).

modum' had to put in a paper with the amendments they desired; these were to be printed and distributed before the next General Congregation.

The full list of votes is given in Mansi (IV (52), 1243). It will be of interest to examine it. And first the 'non placets'. The number had dwindled to 88 from the 140 that in January had signed the protests against the bringing on of the infallibility question, when the Minority could reasonably count on being able to muster some 200 opposed to the definition. An appreciable number of bishops had left during these months, or had died; but the diminution was mainly due to that natural process of attrition to which minorities standing for evidently losing causes are inevitably subject.

A comparison by nations of the numbers of January and of July is of interest:

	Jan.	July.
French	33	24
Austrian	18	10
Hungarian	13	15
German	14 (1 Swiss)	11
Italian	7	7
North American	24	9
English and Irish	4	5
Oriental	19	7
Others (Portuguese, Argentina)	4	—
	136	88

The French 'non placets' were: Cardinal Mathieu of Besançon, the Archbishops Ginoulhiac and Darboy, Bishops Dupanloup, Meignan, David, Foulon, des Loges, Maret, and the Bishops of Autun, Dijon, Luçon, Coutances, Soissons, Valence, Perpignan, Marseilles, Cahors, Bayeux, La Rochelle, Gap, Nice, and Hippo and Oran in Algiers.

The Austrians were: Cardinals Schwarzenberg of Prague and Rauscher of Vienna, Archbishop Fürstenberg of Olmütz (Moravia), the Bishops of Lemberg, Budweis, Triest, Pola, Gurk, Lavant, and Mgr. Strossmayer, whose jurisdiction lay partly in the Austrian and partly in the then Turkish Empire.

The fifteen Hungarians were a solid 'non placet' led by Simor of Esztergom, the Primate, and Haynald, Archbishop of Kalocsa; they were of various rites, Latin, Greek, Ruthenian, Roumanian.

The Germans were the Archbishops of Munich and Bamberg, Bishops Ketteler and Hefele, and the Bishops of Breslau, Treves, Augsburg, Osnabrück, Ermland, Saxony, and the Army Bishop.

The Italians were: the Archbishop of Milan, the Piedmontese Bishops of Biella and Ivrea, and four from South Italy.

The North Americans were Connolly, Archbishop of Halifax, Canada; and from the United States, Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, Bishops Verot, Fitzgerald, McQuaid, Rogers, Domenec, and the Bishops of Louisville and Marquette.

The Irish were John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, and Moriarty of Kerry; the English, Archbishop Errington, and Bishops Clifford of Clifton and William Vaughan of Plymouth.

The Orientals counted the two Patriarchs, Jussef, Greek-Melchite Patriarch of Antioch, and Audu, the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, and five others, Chaldean, Melchite, Maronite.

These were the 88 who in the crucial trial ballot of July 13 voted 'non placet'. Not a few of those who had acted hitherto with the Minority, signing the series of protests put in from January till June, now voted 'placet iuxta modum'; the most conspicuous of these were Melchers of Cologne, Tarnoczy of Salzburg, McCloskey of New York, and the French Archbishops

of Avignon, Rheims, and Sens. A certain number seem to have fallen out after signing the protest of June 4 against the application of the closure on that day; there is no record of their obtaining the formal leave required for returning to their diocese, or of their taking any further part in the proceedings of the Council: such were the Archbishop of Albi and Bishop Greith of St. Gall. The greatest break was in the United States bishops and the Orientals: Purcell of Cincinatti and Whelan of Wheeling had obtained the leave of the Council to depart at beginning of July, the former on plea of illness; of the other Americans several had gone home at Easter, and some now were 'placet'.

The 'placet iuxta modum' votes call for examination. There were sixty-two such, and the modifications desired were handed in along with the vote. They were scheduled and distributed the following day, July 14.[1] Several bishops desired a number of modifications, so that the schedule ran to 163 numbers, and in reality there were fully 200 alterations proposed. Those on the proem and first two chapters (1-27) were of little importance: the Spanish Bishop of Urgell was still unconscionable enough to call, at this eleventh hour, for a rewriting of great portions of the entire Constitution, submitting his own idea of what the text should be!

On chapter III, the 'Nature of the Primacy', the modifications (28-48) were concentrated mainly on two points: (1) the omission of the clause 'quae vere episcopalis est'; (2) the removal of the clause 'aut eum habere tantum potiores partes', etc., over the manner of introduction of which there had been such acute controversy. Père Jandel, the great Master General of the Dominicans, urged this strongly; not

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1263; *Lac* 432.

that he questioned the doctrine, but because the clause was unnecessary, and its sudden introduction, when discussion was over, had caused great indignation, and suspicion in the minds of many Fathers, that it was a trick of the deputation to get the words voted without discussion: it would be the cause of many 'non placets'.

Nearly 120 of the desired modifications were on chapter IV, the Infallibility. This may seem an inordinate number of amendments sought to be introduced at the last moment; but it is to be remembered that the important addition to the decree (§§ 2, 3, 4), and the new form of the definition, though put to the vote and carried by large majorities, never had been discussed or debated at the General Congregation, so that no opportunity had been afforded for expressing disagreements in detail; thus the voting of July 13 was the only opportunity of proposing amendments on these important portions of the text.

There is no doubt that the changes conciliated not a few of those that had opposed or hesitated over the definition: Tarnoczy of Salzburg in his paper of modifications said that they had nearly satisfied him; and we know that they had satisfied Ullathorne, and presumably the Archbishops of Avignon, Rheims, and Sens.

Others, however, those of the extreme papal school, were greatly displeased at them. They called for the suppression of the piece in § 2, that the Popes in exercising their infallibility had convoked Councils or had ascertained the mind of the Church, as imposing conditions on the Pope; one said that the new form of the definition was virtual Gallicanism; another that it made the infallibility of the Pope to be derived from the infallibility of the Church; others objected to the explanation of *ex cathedra*, as teaching the universal Church; many objected to the limitation of the infalli-

bility to definitions of faith and morals, wishing it extended to far wider circles, after the way of Ward.

And on the other side, several still sought to bring in the bishops in some way, or at least the Church: the following clauses were suggested: 'innixus traditioni ecclesiarum'; 'certior factus de traditione catholica', etc. Cardinal Guidi wished to revert to the form 'tamquam de fide tenendum'.

In regard to the final canon, some called for one couched in stronger and more explicit terms; others objected to the anathema, preferring the original form, 'let him know that he has fallen away from Catholic Faith'. This was the burden of Ullathorne's 'ad modum': 'the introduction of the anathema had been made by the deputation at a time when there was no longer any opportunity of discussion.'

It may be said that the sixty-two who voted 'placet iuxta modum' were about equally divided between those who wanted the doctrine made more strongly papal, and those who wanted it toned down.

The 'iuxta modum' exceptions were scheduled, printed, and circulated on July 14; and that same day the deputation *de Fide* considered them at two sessions.[1] All were rejected except two:

(1) Many had objected to a citation from St. Augustine, as not being in the real sense of its original context: it was resolved to recommend the suppression of the citation; as also of one from the famous passage of Irenaeus, which was recognized as not referring directly to infallibility.

(2) Some asked that it be explicitly stated that the infallibility of a papal definition was independent of the consent of the bishops, whether antecedent, concurrent, or consequent. One had suggested: 'etiam ante episcoporum assensum'. The deputation re-

[1] Mansi, V (53), 275; *Lac* 1695.

solved to recommend that the final clause, 'ex sese irreformabiles esse', be amended: 'ex sese irreformabiles esse, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae'.

On Saturday, July 16, took place the last General Congregation. The spokesmen of the deputation *de Fide* went through the amendments summarily, briefly stating the reasons of the rejection of all but the two. D'Avanzo of Calvi took the proem and the first two chapters; Zinelli of Treviso took the third—he made it clear that the canon, even with the addition, does not touch the disputed question, whether bishops receive their jurisdiction immediately from God, or mediately through the Pope.

Then Gasser took the amendments to the fourth chapter: his explanation of 'definit' has already been given; in the name of the deputation he recommended the adoption of two of the amendments as above, all the others having been rejected by the deputation.

The President announced that only the two amendments recommended by the deputation would be put to the vote, the other 161 being thus ruled out.

The first amendment, the omission of the words of St. Augustine, was carried almost unanimously; the second, the clause 'non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae', by a large majority; 552 Fathers were present.

After the voting, copies were distributed of a solemn protest by the five Presidents, read aloud from the ambo, against the campaign of misrepresentation that had been carried on against the Council by the hostile press and by anonymous pamphleteers:[1]

Two anonymous pamphlets, *Ce qui se passe au Concile* and *La dernière heure du Concile*,[2] stand out as in a special way full of calumnies and disgraceful falsehoods, not only

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1318; it is printed by Manning, *The Vatican Council*, p. 181, in *Petri Privilegium*.

[2] They will be spoken of later, Chap. XXVI.

attacking the Council, but heaping injuries on the person of the Holy Father. We must not allow our silence to seem to give countenance to these calumnies; and so we raise our voice in protest and declare that the things said in these pamphlets and in newspapers are false and calumnious, whether uttered against the Pope and the Apostolic See, or against the Council, and in particular the asserted lack of legitimate freedom.

Signed by the five Presidents.

The reading of this protest was greeted with general applause.

The President then called on all those who approved to show their approval by standing up.

All stood up and with loud voice protested their adhesion: many cried out, 'Anathema, anathema'.

When the Secretary declared, 'Almost all have risen', some called out, 'Not almost all,—all—all'; but others, 'All except one; one did not rise'. But it could not be seen who had not risen. After some confusion it was seen that all were standing up.

The President announced that the Pope wished the Council to go on without prorogation; but leave was given to bishops to go to their dioceses for a time, if necessary.

Then the Fourth Public Session was proclaimed for Monday July 18.

So ended the eighty-sixth and last of the great General Congregations, attended nearly always by from 500 to 600 Fathers, or more.

These days were a time of painful crisis for the Minority bishops, and they were sorely perplexed how to act. On the evening of Friday, 15th, a deputation from them had obtained an audience with the Pope in hope of getting concessions that would secure a unanimous 'placet' at the Public Session. The deputation consisted of Darboy, Ginoulhiac, Simor,

Scherr of Munich, Rivet of Dijon, and Ketteler. The next day, 16th, Darboy in a letter to the Pope, written at his command, set forth the nature of the overture that had been made: [1]

They had asked for the omission of the clause imported into the canon of the third chapter in a way that had given occasion to so much protest: 'aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem huius supremae potestatis'; and for the addition after 'munere fungens' of the words: 'et testimonio ecclesiarum innixus'; or: 'et mediis, quae semper in ecclesia catholica usurpata fuerunt, adhibitis'; or: 'non exclusis episcopis'.

Should these two concessions be made, and also the words 'quae vere episcopalis est' be removed, nearly all those who had voted 'non placet' at the General Congregation would vote 'placet' at the Public Session. 'Quod faxit Deus et omnes ad unanimem sensum reducat!'

It is said that Ketteler threw himself on his knees and with tears in his eyes said: 'Good Father, save us, and save the Church of God!' But Pius was not moved: he said it was probably difficult to alter what had been decided; in any case, the matter ought to be addressed to the Council, not to him.[2]

The Council, following the lead of the deputation *de Fide*, instead of conciliating added at the last moment the clause 'non autem ex consensu ecclesiae', making the definition still more unacceptable to the Minority.

This was on Saturday, 16th; the next day, the eve

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1322; *Lac* 992.

[2] Quirinus (p. 803) says that the Pope was moved, and was disposed to consider the representations of the Minority deputies; but that Manning and Senestréy went to him and stiffened him against any concessions. This may be correct. Manning when speaking of the activities of the two opposed international committees of infallibilists and inopportunists, says: 'When they went to Pius IX we went also; it was a running fight' (see Vol. I, p. 203). But this is the only occasion of which there is record of the Minority bishops thus approaching the Pope.

of the Public Session, found the Minority in a state of divided counsels. At their meeting Haynald urged with vigorous eloquence that they should go to the Public Session and with clear and distinct voice, in face of Pope, of Europe, of kings and peoples, of the future, close this dolorous discussion with a resounding negative vote. He carried the meeting with him. The sequel is told in the words of one who was present, Mgr. Dupont des Loges of Metz: Dupanloup came late, and when he was told of the decision that had been arrived at, he opposed it and strongly urged abstention: 'We could not vote "placet", for nobody would believe us; we could not vote "non placet", for the Catholic world would not understand us, and might be scandalized.' [1] This counsel prevailed by a vote of 36 to 28,[2] and a letter to the Holy Father was drafted: [3]

Most Holy Father,—In the General Congregation held on the 13th inst. we gave our votes on the schema of the first Dogmatic Constitution concerning the Church of Christ.

Your Holiness is aware that 88 Fathers, urged by conscience and moved by love of Holy Church, gave their votes in the words 'non placet'; 62 others in the words 'placet iuxta modum'; finally about 76 were absent and gave no vote. Others had returned to their dioceses on account of illness or other serious reasons. Thus our votes are known to Your Holiness and manifest to the whole world; and it is notorious how many bishops endorse our view; in this manner we have discharged the office and duty which lies upon us.

Nothing has happened since to change our opinion, nay rather there have been many and very serious events which do not allow us to depart from our position. We therefore declare that we renew and confirm the votes already given.

[1] Mourret, *Concile du Vatican*, p. 307.
[2] So Senestréy's Diary, Mansi, V (53), 286; *Lac* 1703.
[3] Mansi, IV (52), 1325; *Lac* 994.

Confirming our votes therefore by this present document, we have decided to be absent from the Public Session on the 18th inst. For the filial piety and reverence, which very recently brought our representatives to the feet of your Holiness, do not allow us in a cause so closely concerning Your Holiness to say 'non placet' openly and in the face of the Father.

Moreover, the votes to be given in Solemn Session would only repeat those already given in General Congregation.

We return, therefore, without delay to our flocks, to whom, after so long an absence, the apprehensions of war and their most urgent spiritual wants render us so necessary; grieving that in the existing sad condition of things, we shall find the peace and tranquillity of consciences disturbed.

Meanwhile, with our whole heart, commending the Church of God and your Holiness, to whom we avow our unaltered faith and obedience, to the grace and protection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we are, of your Holiness, the most devoted and obedient sons.

This letter, dated 17th, bore fifty-five signatures. It was handed to the Secretary of the Council by Cardinal Schwarzenberg the next day before the Session, the original to be presented to the Pope, and a copy to the Presidents. With it were other letters signed by two German bishops (Breslau and Osnabrück), by three Austrians, and by the Piedmontese Bishop of Biella, asking that they be taken as voting 'non placet': sixty-one in all; the rest of the eighty-eight absented themselves without saying anything.

Among the signatories were twenty French bishops, headed by Cardinal Mathieu; the Hungarians were still the solid fifteen, with Simor and Haynald. The other groups had dwindled: of the Austrians were Schwarzenberg, Fürstenberg of Olmütz, Strossmayer, and four others; of the Germans, only Scherr of Munich, Hefele, the Bishops of Augsburg and

Treves and five others; the North Americans were reduced to four, Connolly and Kenrick, Verot and Domenec; from England and Ireland Clifford was alone; from Italy the Archbishop of Milan and four others. The most outstanding Minority names not found among the signatures were Cardinal Rauscher, MacHale and Moriarty, Errington, Melchers and Ketteler. These two last sent in letters of their own.[1] Melchers wrote that the modifications he had put in with his vote 'placet iuxta modum' showed that he could not with safe conscience vote 'placet' for the Constitution to be put forward the next day:

> Therefore with sorrowful mind I will abstain from voting, and return forthwith to my diocese. But I declare that I will submit myself most humbly to the decrees that will be passed by the Council and confirmed by the Holy Father.

In like strain Ketteler:

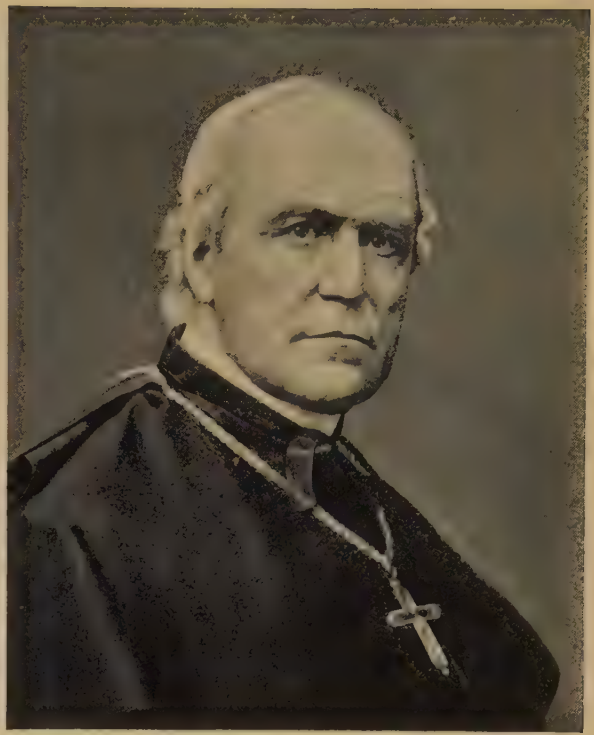
> As the concessions we asked for are not being made, in order that I may not have the utterly repugnant duty of saying 'non placet' in your Holiness' presence, I will depart this evening. But I cannot leave Rome without declaring to you, Most Holy Father, that I will submit myself most fully (plenissime) to the definitions of the Council, just as if I had been present and had voted 'placet'.

The alternations of counsels among the Minority bishops, as seen through the medium of the diplomatists' gossip at the Embassies, are reflected in Odo Russell's letters to Manning.[2] On Thursday, July 14, the day after the trial ballot, he wrote:

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1324; *Lac* 993.

[2] Purcell, *Life of Manning*, II, 437-47. Most of these letters are undated, except by the day of the week, and they are printed in hopeless chronological disarray. It is possible, however, to fix the precise dates of most of them.

Mgr. Melchers,
Archbishop of Cologne



Mgr. Ketteler,
Bishop of Mayence

Mgr. Darboy, who now takes the credit of the Minority vote to himself, was going to Cardinal Bilio to dictate his terms. He tells us that, with the 'iuxta modums', and those who did not attend, he is sure of 140 'non placets'. At the French-German International he has recommended a solemn protest to be laid on the table of the Council after the 140 have voted—to declare that without moral unanimity, they do not feel bound, etc., etc.

I saw my colleagues, who all agree that the triumph of victory is at fever heat among the eighty-eight. They hope for more Oriental votes also, but I don't know on what grounds.

Two bishops left, Breslau and Budweis, I think. None left to-night. The death of the Bishop of Würzburg has alarmed many, and there may be a limited departure on Saturday, but everything is being done to prevent it. The excitement of Haynald is most curious to analyse.

The next day, Friday 15th:

The International determined this evening to send up a deputation at once to the Pope. . . .

In the event of a refusal on the part of His Holiness, the Opposition will vote 'non placet' *en masse*, and although seven Opposition bishops have left since Wednesday, they expect to be over a hundred 'non placets' at the Public Session.

On Sunday, 17th:

Darboy was ill and could not attend the International, so that Dupanloup had it all his own way, and the whole Opposition, for reasons unexplained, have decided NOT to attend to-morrow, at the suggestion of the Bishop of Orleans! A unanimous vote is therefore certain to-morrow! They are deliberating at present about an Address or Declaration to be signed by the Opposition, but it is not yet adopted.

Most of them leave to-morrow, but some few think of going to-night; none will venture to appear or vote to-morrow. How curious the history of the last few days has been!

Cardinal Rauscher was going at 12 to-day to the Pope.

The same evening :

I went to the station this evening. About 20 bishops left—3 Bavarian, 4 French, 1 Dalmatian, and I spoke to Melchers of Cologne, Ketteler, Haynald, and Dupanloup ; the others I did not know.

To-morrow morning about 20 more will leave ; the rest to-morrow night.

Melchers would not sign the collective Address or Protest, but drew up one of his own. Haynald thought the move a mistake, but was obliged to follow the rest ; he thought a 'non placet' vote more effective ; but many would not vote, although they would sign.

Not one will attend to-morrow, and the result will be unanimity. Evidently all feared to have to sign a confession of Faith they had been told would be presented to them to-morrow.

The fateful day of the Public Session, Monday, July 18, dawned in rain, after a night of thunder and lightning. St. Peter's was opened at 7.30 and the Session began at 9. The crowd was not such as had filled St. Peter's to overflowing at the opening Session, December 8 : the July heats had dispersed the visitors. The only royalty present was the Infanta of Portugal. A votive Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated 'sine cantu' by a Cardinal. Then the Pope entered and assumed pontifical vestments, the Litany of the Saints was chanted, followed by the hymn 'Veni Creator Spiritus', intoned by the Pope. A bishop approached the throne and received from the Pope the Constitution 'Pastor aeternus', and mounting the ambo read it through in a loud and clear voice. Then he put the question : 'Right Reverend Fathers, do the decrees and canons contained in this Constitution please you ?' And the voting by 'placet' or 'non placet' began. It was carried through under circumstances of unforeseen impressiveness. Mozley, the

correspondent of *The Times*, was present and described the scene vividly : [1]

The storm, which had been threatening all the morning, burst now with the utmost violence, and to many a superstitious mind might have conveyed the idea that it was an expression of divine wrath, as 'no doubt it will be interpreted by numbers', said one officer of the Palatine Guard. And so the 'placets' of the Fathers struggled through the storm, while the thunder pealed above and the lightning flashed in at every window and down through the dome and every smaller cupola, dividing if not absorbing the attention of the crowd. 'Placet', shouted his Eminence or his Grace, and a loud clap of thunder followed in response, and then the lightning darted about the baldacchino and every part of the church and the conciliar hall, as if announcing the response. So it continued for nearly one hour and a half, during which time the roll was being called, and a more effective scene I never witnessed. Had all the decorators and all the getters-up of ceremonies in Rome been employed, nothing approaching to the solemn splendour of that storm could have been prepared, and never will those who saw it and felt it forget the promulgation of the Constitution on the Church.

The storm was at its height when the result of the voting was taken up to the Pope, and the darkness was so thick that a huge taper was necessarily brought and placed by his side as he read the words 'Nosque, sacro approbante Concilio, illa, ut lecta sunt, definimus et apostolica auctoritate confirmamus.' And again the lightning flickered around the hall, and the thunder pealed. The 'Te Deum' and the Benediction followed; the entire crowd fell on their knees, and the Pope blessed them in those clear sweet tones distinguishable among a thousand.

The result of the voting was 'placet' 533, 'non placet' 2.

The two 'non placets' were Fitzgerald of Little Rock, U.S.A., and Riccio of Cajazzo in the Kingdom

[1] *Letters from Rome*, II, 445.

of Naples. Fitzgerald had acted consistently with the Minority, and had voted 'non placet' on 13th. He obtained permission to leave, and on 17th sent a letter to the Secretary that he was going, and professing his intention of following in all things the decrees of Holy Mother Church and the Vatican Council. He changed his mind, however, and came to the Session. As soon as the Pope had confirmed the Constitution, he came down from his place and going to the throne professed his acceptance: 'Modo credo, sancte Pater'—'Now I believe, Holy Father'.[1]

Riccio's case is less clear. To begin with, he was one of those who in February had signed, along with two other Italian bishops, a special postulation in favour of the infallibility being defined, and this in very clear terms.[2] On July 13 he voted 'placet iuxta modum'; but his modification was almost a direct negative of the definition as proposed.[3] Like Fitzgerald, as soon as the Pope had confirmed the Constitution, he knelt before him, saying: 'Credo', and joined in singing the 'Te Deum' with the rest.[4]

After the Session Pius spoke to the assembled Fathers:

> This supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff, venerable Brothers, does not oppress but helps, does not destroy but builds up, confirms in dignity, unites in charity, and strengthens and protects the rights of his Brethren the Bishops. Therefore let those who now are judging in commotion of mind know that the Lord is not in commotion.[5] Let them bethink themselves that a few years ago, holding the opposite opinion, they abounded in Our sense

[1] Mansi, IV (52), 1328.
[2] Mansi, III (51), 672; *Lac* 941.
[3] Mansi, IV (52), 1292; *Lac* 452 (no. 114).
[4] Mansi, l.c., 1335, n.; *Lac* 1000.
[5] He is quoting the vulgate of 3 (1) Kings, xix, 19: non in commotione dominus; the English versions have 'earthquake'.

and in the sense of the majority of this great Council;[1] but then they judged in the spirit of a gentle air. Can two opposite consciences exist in judging the same judgement? Surely not. Therefore may God enlighten minds and hearts; and since He alone doeth great wonders, may He enlighten minds and hearts, that all may come to the bosom of their Father, Christ's unworthy Vicar on earth, who loves them and longs to be one with them; and thus being joined together in the bond of love, we may fight the battles of the Lord; so that our enemies may not mock at us, but rather may fear, and at length the arms of malice may yield in the view of truth, and all may be able to say with St. Augustine: 'Thou hast called me into Thy admirable light, and lo I see.'

A few notes on 'placet' votes will be of interest. Some who at the beginning and during the course of the Council had been of the Minority, but on July 13 had voted 'placet iuxta modum', now voted 'placet': such were Tarnoczy of Salzburg, Primate of Germany, McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, and the French Archbishops Bernadou of Sens, Landriot of Rheims, Dubreil of Avignon. In all, 50 of the 62 'placet iuxta modums' of July 13 voted 'placet' on 18th: among them the two leading Dominicans, Cardinal Guidi and the Master General, Père Jandel; also Ullathorne. There was no inconsistency in such a vote: one may properly vote for the third reading of a Bill, even after failing to get an amendment carried. Vaughan of Plymouth and two Orientals, after voting 'non placet' on 13th, voted 'placet' on 18th. Most of the English bishops had left; besides Manning, Ullathorne, and Vaughan, only Cornthwaite of Beverley and Chadwick of Hexham took part in the final Session, voting 'placet'.

Of the North Americans there voted 'placet', besides McCloskey, Spalding of Baltimore, Alemany

[1] He refers to the address of 1867.

of San Francisco, Williams of Boston, who all had consistently acted with the Majority; also the coming man of the North American Church, James Gibbons, then Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore and Cardinal.

Dr. Ullathorne's last Council letter was written on 18th itself, on the point of setting out homewards:

> The great Session is over. The decree was voted by 533 'placets' to 2 'non placets' amidst a great storm. The lightning flashed into the aula, the thunder rolled over the roof, and glass was broken by the tempest in a window nearly over the pontifical throne and came rattling down. After the votes were given the Pope confirmed it at once, and immediately there was a great cheering and clapping from the bishops, and cheers in the body of St. Peter's. Then the 'Te Deum' began, the thunder forming the diapason.
>
> The Council is to go on with those who remain, and we are all to return by St. Martin's Day, November 11. But by that time no one knows what may be going on in Italy, or what may happen to suspend the Council.

On the next day war was declared between France and Prussia.

The attempt to carry on the Council was kept up during the second half of August, and on the 13th, 23rd, and 1st September General Congregations were held, attended by about 120 Fathers, at which were further discussed the schemata on discipline left unfinished in April.[1]

The outbreak of the war brought about the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome at the beginning of August; early in September the Italian armies invaded the Pope's territory and advanced on Rome; on September 20 a siege of Rome began and after a

[1] Mansi, V (53), 1.

few hours, once a breach was made, the garrison, by the Pope's orders, capitulated, and the Italian troops entered and occupied the Eternal City. Just a month later, October 20, the Pope issued an Apostolic Letter, suspending the Council indefinitely, until more propitious times.

CHAPTER XXV

AFTER THE COUNCIL

After the Council not one of the Minority bishops failed to make known his adhesion to the Constitution *Pastor aeternus* of July 18, not one of them took part in any schismatical movement.

When I have said this speaking to Protestant audiences, I have been met with the question : ' What ! Do you say it was right for these bishops to go against their intellectual convictions ? ' Yes, surely ; that is what it is to be a Catholic : when the teaching Church finally and formally declares a belief to be an article of Catholic Faith, it is the part of every Catholic to give up private judgement and accept the judgement of the Church that the doctrine is part of the divine revelation : just as a good old-fashioned Protestant, once he recognizes that some doctrine is taught in the Bible, will accept it as the revealed Word of God. And so every one of the bishops finally made this act of submission to the teaching authority of the Church. But in a few cases—surprisingly few, not half a dozen —there was a period of hesitation, and an interior struggle. These cases will be spoken of in due course.[1]

[1] This chapter is based principally on Granderath's ' History ' (III, Bk. iv, cc. iii-ix, p. 542 to end : the reader is reminded that pages cited are those of the German edition, preserved in the lower margins of the French) : and on Ollivier, *L'Église et l'État au Concile du Vatican*, II, c. ix, ' Après la Définition ' : his position of a detached but understanding onlooker gives a

Other than what might be expected, no hesitations came from France. No difficulty arose from any quarter. Not from the side of the Government: Ollivier was still Minister, and he had all along been against any governmental interference; after his fall the disasters of the war and the Commune entirely filled the minds of public men and diverted them from ecclesiastical affairs. Not from the group of Catholic liberals: immediately, on July 21, their daily organ, *Le Français*, fulfilled the promise of the *Correspondant* just before the Council (I, p. 123), declaring: 'The definition has put an end to all controversy; what has become for every Catholic a matter of dogma, has passed completely out of the domain of open opinion. May all minds accept the judgement of the Church with a perfect, sincere and filial submission, as we hereby do.' Not from the lower clergy: the great bulk of the clergy were overwhelmingly Ultramontane, and most of the French Minority bishops had been harassed by protests and remonstrances from their clergy;[1] Ollivier testifies to the prevailing Ultramontanism of the clergy (op. cit., I, 298, 314, 534[2]). Not from the rank and file of the Catholic laity, who appear to have enthusiastically welcomed the definitions. And lastly, not from any one of the Minority bishops.

The first to speak was Dupanloup: still on the journey home, on July 20, he wrote to Cochin, editor of the *Correspondant*: 'The great affair has been decided against us. Therefore, nothing, not a word, that could be understood in bad sense; and let all be in praise of the Pope, who has been inspired therein

special value to his appreciations. The official documents of the bishops' adhesions are in Mansi, V (53), 935-1062; they are given summarily in *Lac* 995-1004.

[1] Cf. *Lac* 1444.

[2] 'The immense majority of the clergy of the second order'.

as St. Peter and as Vicar of Jesus Christ. It would be impossible to act more straight than he has done—Impossible d'aller plus droit qu'il ne l'a fait.' [1]

Cardinal Mathieu, Archbishop of Besançon, the head of the French group of opponents to the definition, declared his adhesion on August 8: he wrote to the Pope: 'I declare that I purely and simply, with whole heart and soul, adhere to the dogmatic definitions pronounced by Your Holiness on July 18.' A week later Ginoulhiac, Archbishop of Lyons, wrote to the Pope: 'Bishops take part in the Council in a two-fold capacity: as judges of doctrine they vote according to their conscience; but as simple faithful, when a decree has been made and confirmed, they accept it without reserve, and defend it to the utmost of their power: so I accept the decree with a sincere submission of my own judgement, and with my whole heart I adhere to the definitions.'

David of St. Brieuc was one of the stiffest opponents of the definition; yet during the debate, at the time of greatest friction, he made clear in a pastoral letter to his flock at the beginning of June what his attitude would be, in words so remarkable as to be worthy of preservation: [2]

It is one of the glories of the Catholic Church never to make a truth an object of the formal obligatory belief of the faithful without a full and searching examination, where all the reasons are produced; and every bishop, as an official witness and judge of the Faith, raises a free voice to express, before God and before the Church, all that he finds in the depths of his conscience. And from this rigorous examination, from this discussion, which exposes to the light all the aspects of a doctrine, there results a certitude superior to all human certitudes. But this is still only preparation for the definitive work; the divine element has not yet intervened. After all the reasons have been heard, and all

[1] Mourret, op. cit., p. 316. [2] *Lac* 1436.

the witnesses collected, after the Council has deliberated in full maturity and liberty, then the Church, by the organ of her Head, pronounces and defines. At that moment every other voice than hers must be silent: the Church teaches; the world bows down and believes: God has spoken!

He now wrote to the Pope in October declaring his adhesion, simply and from his heart, to the Constitution. Maret made a similar declaration of adhesion, and a year later made a retractation of anything in his book counter to the definitions, and withdrew it from circulation.

By the end of the year practically all the French bishops who had opposed the definition had signified their acceptance of it, either by letter to the Pope, or by pastoral, or by promulgation of the decrees in their diocese. The investment of Paris and the occupation of Orleans by the Germans delayed the adhesions of Darboy and Dupanloup; but no sooner were communications reopened than they sent to the Pope letters with assurance of their loyal acceptance of the *Pastor aeternus;* their words have already been cited (see Vol. I, pp. 119, 141). The words of the French bishops are all of the like tenor; the case, however, of Mgr. Las Cases, of Constantine and Hippo in Algiers, stands out as unique and deserves to be put on record. On his death in 1882 the following instruction was found in his will:[1]

If there be a discourse at my funeral, the preacher must not say that at the Council I was only 'inopportunist'. Brought up in anti-infallibilist doctrines, during the Council I remained fixed in my opinion so long as the Council had not pronounced; but on the morrow of the definition God gave me the grace to be able to say with entire truth, in the fullness and calm of my faith, 'I believe to-day in the infallibility as thoroughly as I disbelieved in it yesterday'.

[1] Mansi, V (53), 1042; *Lac* 1002.

To say that such bishops as myself were but 'inopportunists' is to lessen that incomparable triumph of Catholic Faith after the Council, whereby the Minority bishops came forth, without exception, docilely submissive to the definition, after having loyally, courageously, respectfully combated it so long as it had not become an article of Faith, and their conscience compelled them to defend what they believed to be the true doctrine of the Church.

In Germany great trouble arose—not on the part of the bishops, whose conduct was beyond reproach. The course of events there and the grievous schism that broke out, may best stand over to be treated of in the last place.

In Austria no serious trouble arose. Cardinal Rauscher straightway on his arrival at Vienna promulgated the decrees, August 8. Cardinal Schwarzenberg seems at first to have had the thought of holding the Opposition together for the expected reassembling of the Council that same winter. The mentality of those bishops who hesitated about promulgating the decrees was this: the Council is not yet over, the decrees have not yet been signed by the bishops: in all œcumenical Councils the decrees were signed by all the bishops: 'Ego definiens subscripsi': at Trent the decrees of 1547 and 1552 were not thus signed, and were not confirmed by the Pope or promulgated, until the close of the Council in 1564. Hefele's hope was that on reassembling, the Council would take in hand the schema 'de Ecclesia', and in chapter IX, on 'the Infallibility of the Church', there would be an opportunity of supplementing the definition of the Pope's infallibility so as to bring out in some way that his infallibility issues from that of the Church; which was what Hefele and most of the Minority bishops contended for.[1]

[1] See letters to Döllinger and to his clergy, Granderath, III, Bk. iv, c. iii, p. 563.

With this view of holding the Opposition together, Schwarzenberg early in September wrote to Cardinal Mathieu to sound him as to the mind of the French bishops. The answer dispelled all hopes from that quarter: [1]

> I have ascertained that the French bishops of the Minority will not make any further representations to the Pope or the Council concerning the decisions of July 18. They accept the past without reserve, and do not wish to embark on any discussion of the œcumenicity of the Council, which might provoke the greatest difficulties and the most deplorable scandals.

The action of the German bishops, to be spoken of just now, made it clear that nothing of the kind was to be looked for from them. Accordingly by the end of December Schwarzenberg wrote, in response to a pressing invitation from the Pope, that as soon as he had received the announcement of the prorogation of the Council he had in mind the promulgating of the decrees; now having received the Holy Father's special mandate, he would do so without delay. And in January they were promulgated to the diocese.

The Austrian Government put no obstacle in the way of the publication; it took, however, the occasion afforded in order to denounce the Concordat of 1855, some of the articles of which had become hard of observance since liberal Governments had been in office in Austria. The reason assigned by the Minister, von Beust, was that the new decrees changed the condition of things, in that they made the Pope arbitrary judge in questions affecting Church and State, and able to bind Catholics in conscience on matters infringing the rights of the State.

In Hungary another situation arose. The Hungarian bishops had been the block most solidly

[1] Granderath, l.c., c. v, p. 591.

opposed to the definition to the last moment, the letter of July 17. Yet on their return home they agreed in August to send instructions to the confessors in their dioceses, that both in the confessional and out of it they should declare that all Catholics are bound to accept, as an article of Catholic Faith, the doctrine of papal infallibility as defined; also that each bishop should, in the most prudent way, publish the decrees. Here the Hungarian Government intervened to warn the bishops that the decrees might not be published without the 'placetum regium' or royal 'placet'. The Primate, Simor of Esztergom, in the name of all the bishops, made a protest to the Emperor; and he issued a series of three pastoral letters, setting forth to clergy and people the contents and teaching of the Vatican decrees. Several others promulgated the decrees in spite of the Government's prohibition, and all made known at Rome their adhesion.

Haynald alone showed any hesitation. He made no move for a year, till in June 1871 he had from Cardinal Antonelli an energetic letter calling on him to declare at Rome his adhesion, and to publish the decrees officially in his diocese. He replied that had the other Minority bishops persevered in their opposition he also would hold out; but they had practically all accepted the decrees, and so he recognized the moral unanimity needed in the definition of a dogma of faith: he therefore as a Catholic submitted and received the doctrine. He renewed, however, the complaints about the procedure at the Council. At a diocesan conference, October 1871, he made the following declaration:

As the Vatican decrees have been accepted, almost without exception, by all the bishops of the Catholic world, every Catholic, no matter what may have been his personal scientific conviction, is bound in conscience to look on

these doctrines as teachings which Jesus Christ has delivered to His Church by Peter, and consequently to accept and hold them.

Strossmayer's hesitations lasted longer. He seems at first to have been disposed to dally with the old Catholic movement, writing to Döllinger and other leaders that he did not recognize the œcumenicity of the Council or the validity of its decrees, on account of lack of proper liberty; but he made it clear he would join in no revolt, no schismatical movement. Finally he published the decrees in December 1872.

Strossmayer was subjected to the annoyance of a forged speech in his name, *Papa e Vangelo, discorso di un Vescovo al Concilio*, written by an apostate friar bitterly hostile to the Catholic Church. The 'speech' was translated and printed in the press of many lands. It was printed in the *Guardian* of June 28, 1871, with a leader, and reprinted as a pamphlet. Strossmayer repudiated it indignantly again and again; still the annoyance went on during twenty years. Now that the Acts are printed it is clear that no such speech was made at the Council by any bishop. Strossmayer's real speech, on June 2, is in Mansi, IV (52), 391-404. In these circumstances it is deplorable to think that the bogus speech is still being printed and circulated as genuine: I have just seen a copy, 'printed at the Nile Mission, Cairo, 1928'.[1]

The leading Italian opponent of the definition, the Archbishop of Milan, preaching in the Duomo on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8, the year of the Council, made a public profession of faith in the infallibility of the Pope, as defined at the Council.

Of the North American bishops, Verot, the 'enfant

[1] In the British Museum catalogue there is no indication that the speech is a forgery. See Granderath, l.c., c. iv, p. 584.

terrible', was one of the first of the Minority to declare his adhesion; he did so before leaving Rome, July 25. Similarly Connolly of Halifax immediately on arrival home. Kenrick of St. Louis, on the day of his return to his diocese, in a public speech submitted himself with full obedience to the authority of the Church. He was called on to reprobate publicly things in the 'Concio habenda at non habita', which had been examined by the Index and declared to contain gross errors: a retractation would save the 'concio' from being put on the Index. He replied that he considered his formal acceptance of the decrees to be enough: nothing more was heard of the matter. A letter to Acton is printed by Schulte, and in part by Granderath:[1] in it Kenrick declares that his acceptance was an act of pure obedience to the authority of the Church, from which he never had a thought of separating himself; he submitted himself most unreservedly, taking the words of the decree in their strict and literal significance; but his submission was not grounded on the removal of his motives of opposition; he reconciled himself intellectually to submission by applying the theory of development; he intended to issue no pastoral on the Council, and not to preach or speak on the papal infallibility; nor would he say that it is certainly in Scripture.

Kenrick was the object of much criticism at the time of the Council and since; he was perhaps the stiffest opponent of the definition. The following anecdote, recorded by Cardinal Gibbons, shows the view taken by Leo XIII of the opponent bishops:[2]

Dr. Kenrick was violently opposed to the definition, not only because of what he considered its inopportuneness,

[1] Op. cit., III, Bk. iv, c. v, p. 606.
[2] *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, I, 32.

Mgr. Kenrick,
Archbishop of St. Louis, U.S.A.

Mgr. Spalding,
Archbishop of Baltimore, U.S.A.

but because he did not see that it was part of the Deposit of Faith.

Years afterwards somebody spoke of him to Leo XIII and criticized his attitude during the Council; upon which the Holy Father replied indignantly: 'The Archbishop of St. Louis was a noble man and a true Christian bishop. When he sat at the Council as a judge of the Faith he did according to his conscience; and the moment the decision was taken, although it was against him, he submitted with the filial piety of a Catholic Christian.'

The two Irish 'non placets', MacHale and Moriarty, seem to have been the only ones never called on to make a formal adhesion or to promulgate the decrees. As a matter of fact they made no move until 1875, when at the Synod of Maynooth, in union with the rest of the bishops, they signed a joint pastoral enforcing the definition of infallibility as of Catholic Faith. Moriarty's mind is fully disclosed in the letters to Newman (Chapter XVIII).

Clifford of Clifton signified his adhesion on December 3, 1870. Two letters of his to Newman are of interest. The first is of August 15, 1870:

The position of affairs as regards the Council at present seems to be as follows. Most of the bishops of the Minority were of opinion that the only thing to be done at first is to wait the course of events. It is evident that any active steps taken at present by members of the Minority would at once provoke action on the part of the violent party, and then schism would be the only alternative, which of course is evidently wrong. On the other hand, the Council is not yet concluded, the bishops have not yet signed, and we are summoned to reassemble on 11th of November. It seems doubtful whether we shall be able to do so. If we do not, probably some measure will be taken to supply the want of signatures, and to publish the Council. If in addition to all that has occurred, the signatures of the bishops should be wanting to the Acts of the Council, grave doubts would arise concerning the nature of the Council. Of

course, even if the nature of the Council remained doubtful, still if the doctrines taught by it were generally accepted and believed, that would show them to be part of the teaching of the Church, and so the separate infallibility of the Pope would on that ground have to be accepted as of faith. But this also requires time.

The next is of December 9 :

There is now no reasonable prospect of the bishops meeting again in Council for a long time to come ; the doctrine has everywhere been openly taught without any organized stand having been made against it by the bishops of the Minority, several of whom have openly expressed their adhesion to it. As to the objections raised against the Council itself, they do not seem to me to affect the real point in question. The main fact is undisputed, that the Pope with the approval of a large majority of the episcopate has proclaimed a certain doctrine, which has been taught throughout the Church without any resistance being offered by those bishops who opposed it at the Council. The definition therefore must be accepted as the voice of the Church, and as such undoubtedly true.

We come now, in the last place, to Germany, where grave troubles broke out, leading to the Old Catholic movement and culminating in the Kulturkampf.

Straightway on arrival at Munich Archbishop Scherr[1] had an interview with the theological faculty of the University, July 21 ; after communicating the definitions of the 18th, and commenting on them, turning to Döllinger, the dean of the faculty, he said : 'We are going now to work anew for holy Church.' Döllinger replied : 'Yes, for the old Church.' 'There is but one Church, there is neither new nor old Church.' 'They have made a new one.'

Preparations were already afoot for an organized opposition to the Council. The chief mover and

[1] Scherr was a Benedictine who had been Abbot of Metten.

organizer was Dr. Johann von Schulte, professor of Laws at Prague University, a layman; his History of Old Catholicism is the chief source of information on the beginnings of the movement, as it prints a number of letters and authentic documents. Granderath's account is based upon it.[1] At the end of July a manifesto went forth from a number of Catholic laymen, university professors and teachers in the high schools, protesting against the Council; and the professors of the Catholic theological faculties at the Universities were invited to a conference at Nürnberg for August 25. There came from Munich, Döllinger and Friedrich; from Bonn, Reusch and Langen; from Breslau, Reinkens; from Prague, Schulte; and others less known: thirteen in all. They subscribed a declaration that they did not recognize the Vatican Council as œcumenical, and could not accept the third or fourth chapters of the Constitution *Pastor aeternus;* they appealed to a future Council properly œcumenical, to be held outside of Italy.

Thus faced with the threatening of a grave crisis, the German bishops, Majority and Minority alike, recognized that there was need of prompt action, were the danger of a very considerable schism to be averted. And so Melchers of Cologne organized a meeting of the bishops, again at Fulda; they met on August 30, and agreed to issue a common pastoral letter, which is so clear and fine a statement of the Catholic position, that it deserves to be placed on record:[2]

[1] Schulte, *Alt-Katholizismus*, 1887; Granderath, III, Bk. iv, cc. iii, vi. See also Ollivier, op. cit., c. ix, p. 385 ff., where a good account is given of the whole episode.

[2] *Lac* 1733; Manning gives it as appendix to his pastoral letter on the Council, October 1870, *The Vatican Council* in *Petri Privilegium.*

The undersigned Bishops to the reverend clergy and faithful, greeting, and peace in the Lord.

Having returned to our respective dioceses from the Holy Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, we consider it our duty as your chief pastors to address to you, dearly beloved in the Lord, a few words of instruction and exhortation. The occasion and reason for our doing so, and that unitedly and solemnly, is found in the fact that many erroneous ideas have for several months been disseminated, and still, without authority, are striving in many places to gain acceptance.

In order, then, to maintain in their entire purity the divine truths which Christ our Lord has taught mankind, and to secure them from all change and distortion, He has established in His Holy Church the office of infallible teaching, and has promised and also given to it His protection and the assistance of the Holy Ghost for all times. On this office of infallible teaching of the Church reposes entire the security and joy of our faith.

As often as in the course of time misunderstandings of, or oppositions to, individual points of teaching have sprung up, this office of infallible teaching has in various ways, at one time in greater Councils, at another without them, both exposed and foiled error, and declared and established the truth. This has been done in the most solemn manner by the General Councils, that is, by those great assemblies in which the head and the members of the one teaching body of the Church combined for the deciding of the doubts and controversies in matters of faith which then prevailed.

These decisions, according to the unanimous and undoubted tradition of the Church, have always been held to be preserved from error by a supernatural and divine assistance. Hence the faithful in all times have submitted themselves to these decisions as to the infallible utterances of the Holy Ghost Himself, and, with undoubting faith, have held them to be true. They have done so, not, as persons might suppose, because the bishops were men of mature and extended experience; not because many of them were versed in sciences; not because they had come together from all parts of the world, and therefore, in a certain sense, brought

together the human knowledge of the whole earth; not, lastly, because through a long life they had studied and taught the Word of God, and hence were trustworthy witnesses of its meaning. All this indeed gives to their declarations a very high, indeed perhaps the highest possible, degree of mere human trustworthiness. Still, this is not a sufficient ground on which to rest supernatural faith. For this act, in its last resort, rests not on the testimony of men, even when they are most worthy of confidence, and even if the whole human race by the voice of its best and most noble representatives should bear witness to it; but such an act always rests wholly and alone on the truth of God Himself. When therefore the children of the Church receive with faith the decrees of a General Council, they do it with a conviction that God, the Eternal and alone of Himself Infallible Truth, co-operates with it in a supernatural manner, and preserves it from error.

Such a General Council is the present one which our Holy Father Pius IX, as you know, convoked in Rome, and to which the successors of the Apostles, in larger numbers than ever before, have hastened from all parts of the world, that they might, with the successor of St. Peter and under his guidance, consult for the present urgent interests of the Church. After many and serious debates the Holy Father, in virtue of his apostolical authority as Teacher, on April 24th and July 18th of this year, with the consent of the holy Council, solemnly published several decrees relating to the true doctrine about Faith, the Church, and its Supreme Head.

By this means, then, the infallible teaching authority of the Church has decreed, and the Holy Ghost, by the Vicar of Christ and the Episcopate united with him, has spoken: and therefore all, whether bishops, priests, or laymen, are bound to receive the decrees as divinely revealed truths, and with joyful hearts lay hold of them and confess the same, if they wish to be and remain true members of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. When then objections are raised, and you hear it maintained that the Vatican Council is no true General Council, and that its decisions are of no authority, do not allow yourselves to be

led astray thereby, so as to falter in your devotion to the Church and in your belief and acceptance of its decrees; for such objections are wholly unfounded.

Bound together in the unity of faith and love with the Pope, have the assembled bishops, both those who in Christian lands administer well-established sees, and also those who are called to extend the Kingdom of God among the heathen in apostolic poverty,—bishops, whether they tend a larger or a smaller flock—these, as legitimate successors of the Apostles, have all with the same right taken part in the Council and maturely considered everything.

As long as the discussions lasted, the bishops, as their consciences demanded, and as became their office, expressed their views plainly and openly, and with all necessary freedom; and, as was only to be expected in an assembly of nearly 800 Fathers, many differences of opinion were manifested. These differences of opinion can in no way affect the authority of the decrees themselves; should even we not take into consideration the fact, that almost the entire body of the bishops who, at the time of the Public Session, still maintained an opposite opinion, abstained in the said Session from expressing dissent.

However, to maintain that either the one or the other of the doctrines decided by the General Council are not contained in the Holy Scripture and in tradition of the Church, those two sources of the Catholic faith; or that they are even in opposition to the same; is a first step, irreconcilable with the primary principles of the Catholic Church, which leads to separation from her Communion. Wherefore, we hereby declare that the present Vatican Council is a legitimate General Council; and, moreover, that this Council as little as any other General Council has propounded or formed a new doctrine at variance with the ancient teaching; but that it has simply developed and thrown light upon the old and faithfully preserved truth contained in the deposit of faith, and in opposition to the errors of the day has proposed it expressly to the belief of all the faithful; and, lastly, that these decrees have received a binding power on all the faithful by the fact of

their final publication by the Supreme Head of the Church in solemn form at the Public Session.

While, then, we ourselves with full and unhesitating faith adhere to the decrees of the Council, we exhort you as your divinely appointed pastors and teachers, and beseech you in love to your souls, to give no ear to any teaching contrary to this, whencesoever it may come. Cling all the more unwaveringly, in union so with your bishops, to the teaching and faith of the Catholic Church; let nothing separate you from the Rock on which Jesus Christ has founded His Church, with the promise that the 'gates of hell shall not prevail against it'. In view of the excitement which exists in consequence of unecclesiastical manifestations and movements against the decrees of the Council in several places, and which undoubtedly forms no small trial and danger to many souls, we cannot forbear from earnestly calling all the faithful to fervent prayer for the present great necessities of Church and State. Lift up, then, your hearts in faith and confidence to our Father in Heaven, Whose wise and loving Providence guides and rules everything, and Whose divine Son has promised most surely to hear us when we ask in His name.

Pray for the wants of Holy Church, especially for all who err or hesitate in their faith, that they may have the grace of a firm, decided, and living faith. Pray for the Supreme Head of the Church, the Holy Father, who most likely at this very moment is more than ever before in distress and embarrassment. Pray with confidence in the merits and infinite love of the divine Heart of Jesus Christ, invoking the powerful intercession of the Immaculate Virgin Mother of God.

And may the blessing of God Almighty descend upon you and remain with you all, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

This pastoral went out at the middle of September with seventeen signatures: Melchers of Cologne, Scherr of Munich, Ketteler of Mayence, Dinkel of Augsburg, Eberhard of Treves, Krementz of Ermland, stalwarts of the Minority, all signed it; there were five

names missing, Deinlein of Bamberg, Förster of Breslau, Hefele of Rottenburg, and two more.

Dinkel of Augsburg wrote in November a noteworthy letter to Schwarzenberg, printed by Granderath:[1]

> The movement launched by Döllinger would lead directly to schism, and in such a manœuvre he could take no part; if the modifications he had wished for in the definition were not adopted, he tranquillized himself by the thought that God has permitted otherwise: 'Yes, Eminence, this is my firm belief, that what has come about has come about by the Holy Ghost. And now I consider it my duty to protest against the misunderstandings that are being spread among the faithful on the subject of the infallibility, and to give a strict interpretation of the decree.'

He had in mind the exaggerated statements that were being disseminated as to the import and scope of the decrees.

Those of the bishops who had in their dioceses universities with Catholic faculties of theology, found themselves in the painful position of having to excommunicate some of the leading and most respected priests of Germany. Thus the Archbishop of Munich before the opening of the courses of theology had to call on all the professors of the faculty to accept the Vatican decrees: he could not allow ecclesiastical students to follow the courses of professors who did not accept the definitions of the Council. Seven, among them Haneberg, Abbot of St. Bonifaz, and Thalhofer, accepted the definitions without reserve; two, Döllinger and Friedrich, withheld their adhesion. In January Scherr wrote an affectionate personal appeal to Döllinger, whose close friend he was, asking for an express declaration, and pointing out that, failing this, he would have no option but to proceed to extreme measures. Döllinger asked for time to

[1] Op. cit., III, Bk. iv, c. iii, p. 549; the whole chapter on the German bishops is of great interest.

Mgr. Scherr,
Archbishop of Munich

Mgr. Dinkel,
Bishop of Augsburg

study the question afresh. Scherr gave him two months, till March 15.[1] All Germany was looking on at what was regarded on all hands as a veritable tragedy, Döllinger having been in time past the great champion of the Catholic cause in Germany. He asked for another fortnight: and then on March 28 he sent his final word, printed in the Augsburg *Allegemeine Zeitung*:[2]

He asked to be allowed to appear before a board of the bishops, and undertook to show that the new decrees have no foundation in Scripture or Tradition, and that they are incompatible with the constitution of the modern States of Europe. They lead, as their inevitable corollary, to the 'Unam Sanctam' of Boniface VIII, and to the Syllabus, and numberless other pronouncements, now become infallible. The Pope by the one word 'Orbi' (to the whole world) may now make an article of faith of every sentence, every doctrine, every command. There is no right of opposition to his will; there is neither individual nor corporative liberty. God's tribunal and the Pope's are identically the same. This system will never be accepted in German regions. 'As Christian, as theologian, as historian, as citizen, I cannot accept this doctrine.' He denied of course the œcumenicity of the Council because of lack of proper liberty: the only other Council claiming to be œcumenical, at which a full and thorough examination of tradition was hindered by those in power, was the 'Brigandage of Ephesus', 449. The vast majority of bishops from the Latin countries lacked the will or the intelligence to distinguish truth from falsehood.

Ollivier, who, though no Catholic, understood very well the Catholic system, comments indignantly on the intemperate character and the extravagance of this manifesto:[3]

[1] Reusch, one of Döllinger's adherents, printed after his death the full correspondence: *Briefe und Erklärungen von I. von Döllinger über die Vat. Decrete*, 1869-87.

[2] Granderath, l.c., p. 625; Ollivier, II, 386. [3] L.c., p. 387.

In using such language Döllinger goes off the lines visibly. To compare the Vatican Council with the Brigandage of Ephesus is to go beyond all known limits of exaggeration. To declare *ex cathedra* from the Munich professorial chair that the majority of bishops divinely instituted as successors of the Apostles, and their Head, a Latin also, are ignorant cowards, is an act of personal omnipotence and infallibility far more intolerable than the Pope's, which after all is only the Church's in action.

On April 2 the Archbishop of Munich issued a pastoral warning his flock, and also wrote again to Döllinger, that to reject the dogmatic constitutions of an œcumenical Council was heresy, and involved *ipso facto* the major excommunication. On April 17 Döllinger and Friedrich were stricken with excommunication.

The like painful crises were being transacted at Bonn, where the Archbishop of Cologne had to excommunicate recalcitrant professors of theology, as Reusch and Langen; and at Breslau. Here the Prince-Bishop Förster, who like the others recoiled from any thought of revolt, found himself in an embarrassing position. Most of his clergy, as he says in a letter to Schwarzenberg, and of the Catholic nobility, and of the people, disapproved of the line he had taken up at the Council. On the other side, certain professors, as Reinkens the foremost professor and priest of the diocese, had thrown in their lot aggressively with the movement of revolt, and were courting excommunication. In his trouble of mind he appealed to the Holy Father to be allowed to resign his episcopal charge. But the Chapter and clergy and laity of the diocese sent a counter-petition, and he received from Pius a letter bidding him continue. In October he suspended Reinkens, and at a later date pronounced sentence of excommunication.

In May 1871 the German bishops issued another

joint pastoral on the Council, this time signed by all, with the single exception of Hefele, who, however, had just made his submission. He seems to have been the bishop who found the greatest difficulty in accepting the definition of the infallibility. Yet he did not want much; it was the old bugbear of the apparent 'separate' infallibility that scared him: 'If it were declared that before any definition the Pope must consult the Church in the manner most suitable for the particular case, one could reconcile oneself to the infallibility;' so he said in a letter to Döllinger. He thought of resigning his diocese. His clergy grew restive at his hesitation, and began to ask if he had incurred excommunication. Rome was bringing silent pressure to bear, by withholding dispensations he applied for in marriage cases. However, after a severe mental conflict, he published the decrees to his diocese, and wrote to the Nuncio his acceptance, April 1871.

It is not to be supposed that the submission of faith came automatically or easily to men like Hefele, or Haynald, or Förster, or Strossmayer, or Schwarzenberg. There was a period of hesitation and interior struggle and conflict, that had to be battled through, before Catholic principle came out victorious over private judgement. A similar battle, the struggle between the spirit and the flesh, has to be fought out in every life over temptations of one kind or another. A letter of Hefele's of the time of struggle was disloyally made public against him. He published in reply:

> I wrote this letter in the time of my inward conflict, which went on for some months, until I was able, by submitting myself frankly to the highest authority of the Church, to reconcile myself to the decree of the Council. What I foresaw has come about: this act has drawn on me many attacks; but it has, on the other hand, given me back interior peace.

Naturally those who were fomenting revolt against the Council saw with bitter disappointment the German bishops one after the other adhering to the Council; they had hoped that some of them would hold out and take the lead in the protest. And so they were subjected, Hefele above all, to violent attacks for their submission. And the secular press throughout the world upbraided them as men who through fear of a conflict with authority stifled conscience and made profession of beliefs they did not really hold. Ollivier here again is worth listening to: [1]

> The dissidents and their supporters in all countries launched every kind of sarcasms against the bishops of the Minority, who after opposing the definition, submitted to it: they are renegades, cowards, puppets. No, they are men of honour and of good sense. Men of honour: during the contest all had said, as Mgr. Darboy: 'Whatever the Council does or decides, faith teaches us that it will be rightly done and rightly decided' (April 20); [2] they have all kept their word. Men of good sense: their view not having prevailed, they have not been obstinate in a disastrous self-love, they have preferred the common good to themselves, and have ranged themselves to the view of the majority; they have reasoned well. Conscience, you say? What is your conscience in comparison with that which, according to your faith, Jesus Christ kindled at Rome to illuminate the world?

He goes on in an eloquent and indignant remonstrance with those responsible for the Old Catholic schism.

On April 10, 1871, a Committee of Action was formed at Munich, the first act of which was to call on the King of Bavaria to forbid the teaching of the Vatican decrees in public institutions, and to 'place himself at the head of the movement against Roman impudence and ignorance.' In June a conference of

[1] II, 394. [2] *Lac* 1407.

leaders was held which adopted and promulgated a manifesto as the official programme of the Old Catholic movement: the central article was that each civilized Catholic nation should, without prejudice to its union with the Universal Church, be free to ordain and perfectionate its own ecclesiastical constitution according to its national character, by a concord of clergy and laity. Reinkens was consecrated by the Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht as Bishop of the Old Catholics of Germany.

The Governments of the German States, Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, threw themselves into the conflict on the side of the revolt, and supported it with all their influence. The struggle reached its climax in the Prussian Kulturkampf, in which Bismarck put forth all his power to form a national Church. Few now remember the facts of the veritable persecution of the Church in the Prussian dominions, which included the Catholic Rhineland, when nearly all the bishops and great numbers of priests underwent imprisonment, fines, exile, for their fidelity to Church and Pope, the Vatican decrees being the reason put forward. Ollivier gives a good account of the struggle.[1] Against Bismarck's boast that he would never go to Canossa, he prophesied, truly, 'You will go to Canossa.' The persecution of the Catholic bishops and the State support given to the Old Catholics scotched the Old Catholic movement in Germany. The faithful rallied to their imprisoned bishops and priests. Bismarck tried to gain over the lower clergy by bribes and promises of independence and emolument: 'They little know in Berlin,' said Ollivier, 'the stuff that Catholic priests are made of.'

The German Old Catholics seem not to have exceeded some 50,000, mostly in Bavaria; in the

[1] L.c. 408 ff.

German-speaking parts of Switzerland the movement had a greater vogue and numbered 70,000; there were 10,000 in Austria. In France it struck no roots, nor in any Latin country. At the time of greatest expansion the Old Catholics seem never to have numbered more than some 150,000, and they have since dwindled to a much smaller figure, as the original adherents died off.

Döllinger early dissociated himself from the movement, as at successive Congresses such Catholic elements as clerical celibacy, auricular confession, fasting and abstinence, were discarded. He lived on for twenty years in the isolation of an excommunicated Catholic, recognizing the excommunication, never saying Mass or approaching the Sacraments. Leo XIII made overtures more than once, but he never could be induced to accept the definitions. In October 1887 Mgr. Ruffo Scilla, just appointed Nuncio at Munich, made an appeal to him. Döllinger wrote: [1]

> Moi, je veux pas être membre d'une société schismatique; je suis isolé. Persuadé que la sentence lancée contre moi est injuste et nulle de droit, je persiste à me regarder comme membre de la grande Église Catholique. . . . Ce que j'ai écrit suffira, me semble-t-il, pour vous faire comprendre qu'avec de telles convictions on peut être dans un état de paix intérieure et de tranquillité d'esprit, même au seuil de l'étérnité.

The end came three years later. When he was ninety he had an unexpected stroke, and seems not to have recovered full consciousness. If so, both statements are untrue, that he refused the ministrations of a Catholic priest, and that he accepted those of the Old Catholic Friedrich. Friedrich did administer Extreme Unction to him while semi-conscious. Every priest, even excommunicate, as Friedrich was, has faculties *in articulo mortis*.

[1] *Briefe und Erklärungen*, as above.

CHAPTER XXVI

ŒCUMENICITY OF THE COUNCIL: ITS LIBERTY

It has been seen in the preceding chapter that the Old Catholics, and Döllinger in particular, based their refusal to accept the Vatican definitions on a denial of the œcumenicity of the Council; and the specific reason they gave for denying its œcumenicity was the failure of proper liberty at the Council. The same charge against the Council has been the stock-in-trade of all hostile to it and to the Church, Quirinus, Pomponio Leto, the author of *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, Salmon. It seems therefore necessary to go, once for all, into this matter.

The objections were based on the Rules of Procedure themselves, and on the manner in which they were applied and worked.

Three objections to the Rules themselves were raised on constitutional grounds: (*a*) the restriction on the 'jus proponendi', or right of bishops to propose matters at the Council, by subjecting it to the Congregation *de postulatis* and the Pope; (*b*) the closure; (*c*) need of moral unanimity for decrees on Faith. These points have been dealt with in Chapter XIII.

Döllinger's charge against the Council was, we have seen, that those in authority, by the imposed rules of procedure and by the action of the Presidents, made impossible a full and thorough examination of the case in regard to the Pope's primacy and infallibility, so

that proper liberty of discussion had not been afforded. Anyone who will glance through the fifteen hundred columns of Mansi that give the bishops' written comments and their speeches on the primacy and infallibility will hardly endorse this allegation. Dr. Ullathorne's judgement may be put on record: [1]

> Every condition of a full and free debate was satisfied, the question was considered on all its sides, both by writing in the closet and by the sifting process of public discussion. I might add that, in addition to the public discussions, there were many private lights contributed towards the elucidation of the question; for no sooner had the doctrine been mooted than a number of pamphlets began to appear, and were left at the residences of the bishops. Of these I received about sixty. Written on different sides of the question, most of them exhibited both learning and ability; and several of them were known to have been the productions either of leading prelates of the Council or of skilful theologians.[2] And if amongst them were to be found a considerable number of lucubrations opposed to the definition, this only proved more and more that all that could be said in opposition was fairly said out, and had a fair opportunity of being considered.

Anyone who has doubts as to whether the objections and difficulties urged by the opposing bishops in their written comments, as lodged with the deputation *de Fide*, were fairly and fully set out in the Analytic Synopsis circulated among the bishops before the debate, would do well to look at Acton's *Sendschreiben*

[1] Pastoral letter, October 1870; see *Life of Bishop Ullathorne*, II, 73.

[2] Dechamps and Dupanloup, also Rauscher, Schwarzenberg, Hefele, Ketteler. I have not been able to find a collection of these pamphlets: I hoped to, in the Acton Library at Cambridge, but was disappointed, there being little in it relating to the Council. A few of the principal items are at the Oratory, Birmingham.

of September 1870, wherein is a string of most strongly worded objections culled from the Synopsis.[1]

When this Synopsis, and the powerful speeches delivered on both sides, and the sixty pamphlets or tractates, are all taken into consideration, Ullathorne's verdict will hardly be disputed, that the case, pro and con, had been very fully laid before the bishops, and they had ample materials for forming a reasoned judgement.

The complaints of interference with due liberty find their most authentic expression in a French letter printed in *The Times* of May 3, 1870, purporting to have been written by one of the French bishops to a friend in France. It is referred to in a curious story told by Ullathorne on June 14 (see above, p. 107). Its genuineness was doubted at the time; but I do not think there can be any question but that it was a real letter of Mgr. Le Courtier, Bishop of Montpellier, one of the most extreme of the opposition. It and a similar letter, attributed to Mgr. Place of Marseilles, were printed in the *Journal des Debats* and are reproduced in the English 'Quirinus', also in *Lac* 1407.[2]

[1] Copies of the *Sendschreiben* are at British Museum and at Downside.

[2] The reasons for attributing the letter beginning: 'Je n'ai point parlé une seule fois' to Le Courtier are as follows:

1. It is true of him that he made no speech;

2. Ullathorne's letter of June 14, referred to in text, says that the bishop who wrote the letter left Rome precipitately on the thing becoming public, about mid May: Le Courtier signed all the protests of the Minority up to that of May 8, after which he appears no more in the transactions of the Council;

3. the similarity of this letter to two documents of Le Courtier's in Mansi, III (51), 15, is so great as to suggest identity of authorship.

Le Courtier disavowed the other letter, also attributed to him, but not this one. That other may have been by Place of Marseilles, another uncompromising opponent of the definition.

These letters are loud over the obstacles to real freedom of the bishops, so great and so evident as to destroy the liberty of the Council. And the same charges are the burden of the two pamphlets publicly censured at the last Congregation (p. 155). Of these, the first, published at Paris in May, *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, is a tract of 200 pages, strongly adverse to the Council, but written with restraint of language. Very likely it would have passed without special notice, were it not for the appearance after July 13 of *La dernière heure du Concile*, a pamphlet of 16 pp. printed at Naples, a diatribe of extreme and unrestrained violence, attacking the Pope in insulting terms. The authorship of both pamphlets has remained a secret: there is no reason for supposing they were by the same author, or that a bishop was author of either. *Ce qui se passe* is fully documented; but the documents were public and involved no inner knowledge of the Council. It was probably by a layman of the extreme wing of the French liberal Catholic party.[1] Being free from the bitter and extravagant partisanship of Quirinus, it is probably the most serious indictment of the Council. Ollivier gives an analysis of its contents,[2] and passes on it this verdict:

> This clear, impassioned, often eloquent writing has few material errors; nearly all its facts are official, or taken from the infallibilist journals: but for all that, it is a libel rather than a history, a travesty not a story. This results from the exaggeration of its comments, the injustice of its criticisms, its forced combinations, its partisan appreciations distorting the simplest acts, and the crying disproportion between the recital of facts and the exaggerated conclusions drawn from them.

[1] Quirinus (p. 806) gives as author Guillard, a name unknown to me.

[2] Op. cit., II, 269.

Most of the points urged in these writings have presented themselves and have been dealt with in the course of the foregoing narration. Instead therefore of restating them and discussing them afresh, it will probably be more convincing to listen again to Ollivier's independent judgement. He gives short shrift to the whole contention: [1]

> The same charges were made against Trent and against most of the Councils. Provided that in an assembly no physical obstacle impedes the expression of opinion and the giving of a vote according to one's judgement, no matter what procedure or restrictions may be imposed, or pressure exerted from above or below, liberty exists. Even were the grievances well-founded, how would they destroy the liberty of the Council? What does it matter whether the regulations were made by the Pope or the Council? that Italians or French were a majority? that the *Univers* and the *Civiltà* were bitter? that the Pope made allocutions? Did all that prevent a single bishop from going into the ambo and saying what he thought? It did not. And seven hundred bishops assembled in St. Peter's, and able to express their views unto satiety, were not free, forsooth, because the Pope had framed the regulations, because there were very many Italians, because the *Univers* was extravagant, because the Pope defended himself when attacked!

Through half a dozen pages of indignant irony Ollivier shatters the case of want of liberty. He concludes:

> Examined according to human standards the arguments for want of liberty do not bear discussion; and what if they are examined from the Catholic standpoint, that the Pope is Vicar of Christ and Supreme Pastor? [And elsewhere:] For all spirits whom partisanship does not blind, it is certain that the discussion was as free as ever it was in any human assembly.[2]

[1] Op. cit., II, 67-74.

[2] Op. cit., II, 43.

Cardinal Gibbons' witness is worth reciting: [1]

The Infallibility was debated with great heat. Never have I heard such plain speaking in my life; never have I seen men more violently attached to their own opinion, or less ready to give way to their opponents. There were times when the excitement rose to fever heat, and when one was reminded of some of the earlier Councils, as, for instance, the Council of Chalcedon.

The deliberate judgement of an experienced parliamentarian and statesman, like Ollivier, who knew well the facts, should dissipate once for all the notion of want of due liberty at the Council. Indeed, if the Vatican Council was not free, it would have to be said that the House of Commons is not free: because freedom of speech is at least as much interfered with by Speaker and members in the latter, as it was by Presidents and Majority bishops in the former.

A letter from Dr. Moriarty to Newman of October 25, 1870, will be read with interest:

I had promised myself much happiness in spending a few days with you on my way home, but I had to make all haste in consequence of my brother's illness. Perhaps it was all the better. I might have scandalized you, as I was not then quite over the vexation and anxiety of the previous months.

I hear some are yet complaining of want of liberty. This is not fair. The whole conduct of the business was not what some of us had wished; but it was what the immense majority of the Council wished, and the Council cannot complain of its own acts. If there was any restraint, it was self-imposed. Even our absence on the last day—to which I was vehemently opposed—was the free act of the Minority, and was advised and effected by the persuasion of Mgr. Dupanloup.

I have been planning a letter with a view to make the great Constitution more acceptable to some dear friends.

[1] *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, I, 32.

Mgr. Hefele,
Bishop of Rottenburg

Mgr. Moriarty,
Bishop of Kerry

Thus the charge of want of substantive liberty falls to the ground, in any such sense as could give colour or justification to the Old Catholic schismatical movement. But certain criticisms might fairly be made.

It might be said that the Constitution *Pastor aeternus* on the Papacy was in its final stages rushed through in a hurry. No such complaint could be made of the Constitution *Dei Filius* on Catholic Faith: the discussion and the consideration of difficulties and amendments was most thorough, and the final decree was in a very real sense the work of the Council as a whole, just as really as an Act of Parliament can be the work of the whole Parliament. It might fairly be urged that the like cannot be said in the same fullness of the Constitution on the Papacy. There was the sense of working against time, of the need of getting the thing through before the intolerable heats of the Roman summer should compel the prorogation of the Council; and at the end, before the war imminent between France and Prussia should break out. The closuring of the general discussion need not be spoken of again (see p. 56); it was justifiable in the circumstances, and was the only occasion on which the closure was applied.

But at the last stage an important section introduced into the text by the deputation *de Fide*, and the altered form of the definition itself, though put to the vote of the General Congregation, never was subjected to public discussion, so that no opportunity was given for any public expression of opinion on these important alterations in the text that had been debated. Only the sixty-two who voted 'placet iuxta modum' on July 13 had the chance of proposing any emendations; they put in nearly two hundred amendments: these were considered and disposed of by the deputation in a single day, and were all rejected except

two. At the Congregation of July 16 the Presidents declared that only these two amendments should be put to the vote, all the rest being simply ruled out. It might be urged that this was irregular, for according to the Regulations all amendments were to be put to the vote: but the Council acquiesced, and no protest was made. Indeed it probably was felt that it did not matter, for the experience was that the judgements of the deputation invariably were endorsed by large majorities. I think it is true to say that Ullathorne's amendment on the Constitution on Catholic Faith was the single case in which a judgement of the deputation *de Fide* was reversed. So much so, that one of the complaints was that the influence of the deputation was excessive. But in fact, the legislation of a large assembly is always virtually the handiwork of a small committee, as cabinet or council. And if there be the appearance of undue haste in pressing the Constitution through its last stages, this is a familiar occurrence in legislative assemblies; as when a Government finds it necessary to force an important measure through Parliament at the end of a session: then recourse is had to ruthless use of closure and 'guillotine', whereby amendments are rejected *en bloc* undiscussed. In such cases the Minority always cries out that freedom of debate was stifled by force of numbers; and the Majority that there was wilful obstruction. And so it was at the Vatican Council.

There is another thing that cannot be passed over, the part played by Pio Nono himself in forwarding the definition—did it amount to undue influence? That at the final stages he exerted his personal influence to the utmost cannot be questioned, for it was quite open. Even though the charges of direct intimidation and bribery—not of course by money, but by prospect of ecclesiastical promotion, red hats—be set aside, it

might with show of reason be held that many of the bishops were swayed by what is known as reverential fear towards a beloved Superior, an old man, the object in a very unusual measure of the devotion and affection of all. At first Pius took up a neutral attitude, saying that he left the matter to the Council; but on April 1 Ullathorne wrote: 'The Pope takes every opportunity of impressing his views on the infallibility, both in audiences and in letters that at once get into the papers. He has quite changed his old policy on our arrival, when he professed neutrality before the Council.' Indeed from the beginning of January Pius threw himself with all his great influence, both official and personal, into the struggle. Of his influence as Pope there is no need to speak: Catholic bishops of all types, including the olden time Gallicans, recognized his dominant authority as Vicar of Christ and Head of the Church on earth. But Pio Nono's personal influence was quite extraordinary. The author of *Ce qui se passe*, even when protesting against his intervention, will not hear of its being attributed to ambition or pride, for his was 'a personality of incomparable power and majesty, enhanced by virtues and by misfortunes truly exceptional' (p. 130). Many passages in the *Life of Ullathorne* (see II, 298) illustrate the personal magnetism that by its charm and by its sorrows drew to Pius in an unprecedented degree the respect, affection, veneration of all Catholics. Ollivier's eloquent tribute to Pio Nono, whom he knew personally, and respected, and loved greatly, should be read.[1] And so the bishops found it a real trial to do anything that could sadden or wound the old man, now an octogenarian. Le Courtier bemoans it in his letter: 'See what more than aught else destroys our liberty: it is crushed under the respect we have for our Head.'

[1] Op. cit., I, pp. 307-11.

What it must have cost men like Rauscher, Haynald, Dupanloup, Melchers, who had enjoyed his affectionate personal friendship, to make their stand against his known wishes, cannot easily be estimated. On arriving they all were received kindly, Dupanloup and Darboy with special marks of favour.

At first the Pope announced to all his intention of leaving the matter of the infallibility to the Council, to be brought on or not according as the bishops might desire. Early in January he began moving in the matter. Letters had been coming in from many quarters, from clergy and laity, especially from France, and especially from the dioceses of bishops known to be opposed to the definition, expressing belief in the doctrine and hope that it would be defined at the Council. A great number of apostolic letters were despatched in reply, thanking the senders and praising them for their desires that the infallibility should be defined. Such letters may be found in *Lac* 1444-69, and the answers 1525-35. As an example, the Avignon Chapter sent such a letter and had the following reply, March 7:

> Your letter has given us clear proof of your veneration and love of this Holy See. For from it we know how desirous you are that the irreformable judgement of the Roman Pontiff in exercising the supreme magisterium may be decreed at the Council. Your excellent dispositions of mind are most pleasing to us.

In June the Secretary of briefs wrote to the Nuncio at Paris:

> His Holiness is receiving very many letters affirming belief in the pontifical infallibility defining *ex cathedra*, and begging that it be erected into a dogma of faith. He cannot but rejoice at seeing this pious doctrine, which for many centuries no one put in doubt, so openly affirmed and spread to-day among the clergy and the faithful. The

number of these letters has become so great that he cannot answer them all; and so he charges your Lordship to make it known how great has been his pleasure in receiving them.

More outspoken still were the letters of thanks to various writers who combated the works published against the definition. Thus, in January, to one who had produced a pamphlet, *Les Contradictions de Mgr. Maret*:

> We thank you for the refutation of a widely circulated book, whereby you have sagaciously made the author subvert his own structure.

And in February, to one who had written 'Réflexions' on Dupanloup's *Observations*:

> Your work has received the full approval of the Holy Father. He sees therein a striking proof of your faith and your devotion to the Apostolic See. He has much enjoyed the manner, at once elegant and vigorous, in which, while defending the common and constant faith of Catholics, you at the same time refute the vain hostile sophisms, which are the one and only cause of the trouble that has arisen in consciences, which we deplore.

Gravest of all was the letter to Abbot Guéranger, thanking him for the tract, *La Monarchie pontificale*, a substantial but respectfully worded refutation of Maret and Dupanloup. The first half is a vehement denunciation of the liberal Catholics, written under the emotions called forth by Montalembert's letter shortly before his death;[1] but at the end it comes to the refutation of Maret and Dupanloup:

> You have done a great service to the Church in undertaking the refutation of the chief works against the definition, and showing up their hatred, violence, and artifices —simultatem, violentiam, et artes—with such solidity,

[1] Ollivier, op. cit., II, 170.

clearness and abundance of sacred antiquity and science, that in a word you have taken all prestige of wisdom from those who have wrapped up their opinions in words of ignorance. And so we are most pleased with your book and prophesy for it a great success.[1]

In July were issued letters to W. G. Ward and Herbert Vaughan highly commending their defence of the prerogatives and rights of the Pope in *Dublin Review* and *Tablet*, and encouraging them to go on 'fighting the battles of the Lord'. W. Ward prints that to his father.[2] It is to be remembered that Pius did not know English, and so had not read Ward's articles: likely enough he merely knew of Ward and Vaughan through Manning as staunch upholders of Ultramontane views, and so deserving of commendation. He cannot thereby be said to have endorsed Ward's peculiar views on infallibility. But he did know French, and read the *Univers*; and he did give similar letters of approval to Louis Veuillot, as also to the *Civiltà*. There can be no doubt that, 'as private theologian', Pius was a pronounced neo-Ultramontane.

The like pressure was exercised in private. Mozley is without doubt correct in saying that bishops who were disposed to adopt a neutral or moderate line

find themselves sorely tried in a personal interview. They find it vain to declare their devotion or their sincerity. His Holiness tells them plainly they are not on his side; they are among his enemies; they are damaging the good cause; their loyalty is not sound. It is enough that they have signed what they should not, or not signed what they ought.[3]

[1] Full original text in *Lac* 1537. The second half of *Ce qui passe au Concile* is taken up with 'Intervention de Pie IX', a number of the documents being cited. A whole section in *Lac* is devoted to these letters and addresses of the Pope during the Council (1525-45).

[2] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 265.

[3] *Letters from Rome*, II, 282.

The pressure of the Pope's personal influence can be seen in the solicitude manifested by Ullathorne, a man of independent character, who had nothing to fear and nothing to hope for in the way of ecclesiastical favour, that his attitude should not be misunderstood by the Pope: we have seen that he obtained a special private audience in order to explain that he was an infallibilist and in favour of the definition, and that the amendment he had desired to move aimed only at making it clearer.

As a set-off, and in order to maintain a right perspective in this matter of pressure exercised by the Pope, the experience of Archbishop de Merode should be cited. He was brother-in-law of Montalembert, and had been one of the Pope's Ministers in the government of his States, and was one of his intimates, and his almoner. On July 13 he had voted 'placet iuxta modum', his desire being the controversial clause 'innixus testimonio Ecclesiae'. This being ruled out, he felt unable to vote for the definition, and absented himself from the Public Session. An officious person told him the Pope was greatly displeased. He says:[1]

> Towards the 'Ave Maria' (6 p.m.) on the day of the definition I went as usual to the Pope for my customary duties. I remarked that he followed me now and then with his eyes, as if his mind were preoccupied; and when the hour came for me to retire, and as I knelt as usual to take leave, Pius said to me:
>
> 'Monsignor has nothing particular to say?'
>
> I answered: 'Most holy Father, if I have been wanting in my duty in anything, I beg Your Holiness to tell it me, and I will hasten to do whatever I may have omitted.'
>
> 'But, no, no!' replied the Pope, smiling; 'I only asked you if you had anything you wanted to say to me. You may retire.'
>
> I went away full of admiration for the Holy Father. I

[1] *Life*, translated by Lady Herbert, p. 342.

saw that he wished from a motive of natural and human curiosity, to know what I thought, and the motives of my attitude; but he would not go beyond that first feeling. He respected my inner faith, my honest convictions, my position as a bishop; he understood that I had acted simply according to my conscience. In consequence, not a word of blame or displeasure fell from his lips.

He formally accepted the decree on the following day.

Of course the case that caused the most painful impression was the reprimand administered to Cardinal Guidi (p. 98), surely a very regrettable incident.

Indeed it seems all very regrettable that the Pope should have thrown the weight of his influence in this personal way on the side of the definition, and should have taken such a part in the conflict. The pity of it was that it was quite unnecessary. Had he maintained the aloof attitude that he took up at the outset, and only secured that the question be brought on, he might have left it to the bishops, who would have got him the definition just the same. There is no doubt of this; the Minority knew from the beginning that they were a numerically hopeless minority. The first letters of Quirinus' lament that something like six hundred of the bishops would be in favour of the infallibility, barely two hundred against; and Acton's letters to Gladstone regard the definition as a foregone conclusion, if things should run their natural course.[1]

As in this chapter have been examined criticisms passed on the proceedings of the Majority and of the Holy Father himself, it will be right to examine also criticisms passed on the Minority.

The entire good faith with which the leading

[1] *Lord Acton's Correspondence, Selections:* section, 'Vatican Council and Decrees'.

Minority bishops were persuaded, even with passionate conviction, that the definition of the Pope's infallibility would be nothing short of a dire calamity to religion and to the cause of the Catholic Church, cannot be called in question; it stands out in their speeches and public utterances, and in private letters, as those of Dr. Moriarty cited in these pages (28-30). Nor can the propriety be questioned of their efforts to persuade the Council of the justice of their fears by public speech at the Council or by writings circulated among the bishops. Nor can their efforts be condemned to stave off the evil hour by protests against the changes in the order of business, in which be it noted they had the Cardinal Presidents with them; in the hope that, could the question be put off for that year, something might befall to put it off indefinitely—as, perhaps, the war brewing between France and Prussia.

In all this was nothing in any way illegitimate. But certain of the proceedings, at any rate of some of them, have been greatly criticized, and the matter had better be gone into here.

Manning's adverse comments in the Reminiscences of 1887 [1] have been so often reproduced that it is impossible to pass them by:

> Until I had attended one myself, I had never understood aright the history of the Councils. I now understand how Councils were delayed or broken up or intimidated. I can put my finger by the light of the Present on the culprits of the Past. I can understand their motives, and the means they made use of to attain their ends. Nothing is too base for the partisan spirit. I understand now the confusion which prevailed and the misunderstandings that darkened the minds of men in too many a Council. The calumnies of yesterday were not one whit worse than those of to-day. Cowardice in weak and well-meaning men is but too common in every age, and so are bribery and corruption, fraud

[1] Purcell, *Life of Manning*, II, 452, 455.

and falsehood. But in every age Truth prevails in the end, for God knows how to defeat the designs of His enemies.

Again: The Opposition bishops were damaged by the support of Döllinger and Friedrich; and in some of them the same spirit of supercilious science, with contempt for others, showed itself. Their parliamentary whipping, and canvassing, and boasting, and defiance, and I must add intrigue, to sway Pius IX, and to bring the pressure of the Civil Powers upon the Pope and the Council, were well known to me.

Manning's friends must regret that in extreme old age he took to writing ill-natured reminiscences. As for the 'parliamentary whipping and canvassing and intrigue', these are the very charges to which he laid himself open. It is a pity he did not leave the *True Story* as his last word on the Council, for there he gives a fair objective statement of the position of the Minority.

Two particular charges made against the Minority have to be considered.

First, it was said that they were having recourse to the expedient, not unknown in parliamentary minorities, of trying to talk the definition out, of deliberately prolonging the debates so that the question should not be brought to an issue that summer, in the hope of its being indefinitely postponed.

It is likely enough, in fact there is evidence, that talk of this kind did go on in Minority circles. But the Acts of the Council do not afford any ground for supposing any concerted attempt to give effect to such a policy of obstruction. Certainly the early debates do not, those namely on the Constitution on Catholic Faith and on points of discipline, that occupied the Council up to Easter. And the debates during June, when any such obstructive tactics would have shown themselves, give no sign of anything of the kind. It

is not the case that the Majority sat in impatient silence while the Minority were trying to speak against time. Quite the contrary: it is the fact that more speeches, and longer ones, and speeches wandering farther from the point immediately before the house, and provoking many more calls to order from the Presidents, were made by the advocates of the definition than by its opponents. This appears in the record of the June debates, in Chapter XXI.

Another more serious, and it is to be feared better founded charge, preferred against the Minority, is that some of the leaders tried to bring about the intervention of the Governments to interfere with the course of the Council in regard to the questions of Church and State, and indirectly the infallibility as trenching on that domain. Manning says this quite definitely in the note just cited.

Clearly any Catholic bishop who tried to bring about such external interference with the liberty of the Council can hardly be acquitted of an act of disloyalty. It is the French Government and the French bishops, chiefly Darboy and Dupanloup, who are principally in question. Abbé Mourret thinks a verdict of 'not proven' may be brought in.[1] But I have to say, regretfully, that the letters and authentic documents printed by Ollivier, and his own clear impressions, make it very hard to doubt that some of the French bishops did try to induce the Government to take action in support of the Minority.[2] In particular they tried to influence Daru at the time of his Memorandum; at the end of the English 'Quirinus' is printed such a letter to Daru from 'a French bishop', the genuineness

[1] *Concile du Vatican*, p. 255.

[2] Ollivier, op. cit., II, c. vii, especially 131, 202, 217, 237-40; in his other work, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIII, he declares: Presque chaque jour la Minorité nous envoyait lettre sur lettre, messager sur messager (p. 149).

of which there is no reason for doubting. Moreover, Acton's letters to Gladstone indicate that other bishops than the French were encouraging him to induce the British Government to move.[1] See also Odo Russell's letters to Manning.[2]

To sum up the general question: When all has been weighed up, the fact stands out that there was no real interference with freedom of speech, or thoroughness of discussion, or independence of voting; and so the œcumenicity of the Vatican Council cannot properly be called in question on the score of defect of liberty.

[1] Correspondence, as above.
[2] Purcell, *Life of Manning*, II, 438.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE DECREES

In view of the practical religious importance of the Vatican Decrees on the Papacy, and the controversy to which they have given rise, it is but proper that some remarks be offered here on the interpretation, import, and force of the definitions. As I have already said, it always seems to me that the third chapter, on the Primacy, in reality, for those not in communion with the Holy See, presents greater difficulties, and is of more fundamental importance, than the chapter on the Infallibility. But it is the fact that, alike at the time and ever since, the Infallibility has raised the greatest opposition and occasioned the deepest searchings of heart. Accordingly it will be given chief place here.

Most of the bishops on return to their dioceses issued pastoral letters, or made pronouncements on the meaning of the definition. And so in his pastoral on the Council, issued in October 1870, Dr. Ullathorne gave a plain statement of the doctrine defined. After reciting in full the decree on Infallibility, he goes on:

> You have heard the decree, and now let me assist you to understand it. Like most decrees of faith it consists of two parts, the exposition and the definition; but the definition alone is of faith, although the exposition is of great authority, as explaining the sense of the definition. The definition is contained in these words:
>
> 'We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely

revealed : that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals ; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church. But if anyone—which may God avert —presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema.'

This, then, is the Catholic doctrine, which to deny is heresy and involves separation from the Church of God. It is proclaimed in the name of the Pope, the Council consenting, the Fathers within it, as is said elsewhere, sitting and judging with him. This is the usual form when the Pope presides over a Council in person.

It has been widely, but most erroneously, asserted by the adversaries of our faith, and possibly even some Catholics may have imbibed the notion, that this definition makes the Pope infallible in all his words and actions, and even to the extent of whatsoever he thinks. Nay, some have been so absurd as to say that it makes him sinless. But this is not the doctrine of the definition, nor is it the teaching of the Church. The definition does not extend infallibility to the private teaching of the Pope, still less to his conversation, or to his ordinary actions, or to his political functions, or to his judgement of causes as between man and man. To nothing of this kind does it reach ; they are excluded by the very terms. It is only when he exercises a certain office in a certain way that he is declared to speak without error. Mark the words of the definition ; they say, '*when* he speaks *ex cathedra ;* that is to say ', continues the text, '*when* in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines '. And again, it is only when he *defines* ' a doctrine regarding faith or morals '. We might as well say that a judge is always delivering sentence, or that the Sovereign is always

giving the force of law to acts of Parliament, as say that the Pope is always exercising his infallibility. The occasions for such an exercise of authority are comparatively few, and occur but now and then. As the judge only from the bench, and after the cause has been heard, pronounces that sentence which must be obeyed; as the Sovereign only from the throne of authority gives those acts, after their discussion in Parliament, the confirming sanction that makes them law; so the Pope, only after due investigation made as to what is or what is not contained in the deposit of Catholic teaching, pronounces *ex cathedra* from his apostolic chair or throne what is to be believed, because it always has been received, as an article of Catholic tradition. The means which he employs for investigating what is the Catholic truth are enumerated in the decree itself. The Council says: 'According to the exigencies of times and circumstances, the Roman Pontiffs sometimes assembling œcumenical Councils, or asking the mind of the Church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular Synods, sometimes using other helps which divine Providence supplied, defined those things as to be held which with the help of God they had recognized as conformable with the Sacred Scriptures and Apostolic Traditions.' The past is guarantee for the future, and prescribes the general principles and rules by which the Popes are guided. Scripture and Tradition are the fountains of their judgements. Into these they inquire, consulting according to the gravity of the case. In some cases the Catholic Tradition is so obvious that they require but little if any consultations; others are of greater gravity, and involve a certain obscurity. Such was that of the Immaculate Conception before its definition, which led the Pope to consult the whole episcopate before taking the final step. Again, in this case of defining his infallibility, the Pope has the sense of a General Council. But in every case of an infallible definition, it is always the Vicar of Christ who unites his apostolic authority to the Catholic Tradition.

Hence it is also stated in the decree, that it is not 'new doctrine' or any new revelation, but 'the deposit of faith delivered to the Apostles', which, not by inspiration, but

by the guiding assistance of the Holy Ghost, they are able to keep inviolable, and to expound without error.

On the other hand, it is part and parcel of the definition of Papal infallibility, that 'the definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church'.

A little reflection will make this evident. The authority of the Roman Pontiff is not derived from the Church, but from Christ. It comes from above, not from below, and is the supreme authority over the Church. The less cannot overrule the greater authority; and those who are subject to the supreme authority cannot reform its decisions. We must not be here misled by the example of temporal authority constituted by men: this power is constituted by God; and He can as easily make His Vicar infallible as His Church. Nay, for that matter, humanly speaking, it is easier to make one man infallible than a multitude. Christ constituted His Vicar as the representative of His authority; to Peter, thus constituted, He promised by His prayer an unfailing faith; and with that unfailing faith He enjoined him to confirm his brethren. But if the consent of the Church were needed for the validity of his definitions, it would not be the Vicar of Christ who confirmed his brethren, but his brethren who confirmed him. The very idea is destructive of the Papal infallibility.

This, it will be seen, is a studiously 'moderate' interpretation of the decree, such as might be looked for from one who all along had stood for a carefully safeguarded definition on the traditional lines of the theological schools. But other interpretations were put forward by bishops of other tendencies, as by Manning, as we shall see just now. And so it becomes of importance to ascertain what is the real meaning and force of the decree, and on what principles it is to be interpreted. Had the Council been able to meet again in the winter of 1870, no doubt all uncertainties would have been cleared up authoritatively. As it is, I think there is good evidence that Ullathorne's inter-

pretation is substantially correct, and the one accepted at Rome.

He heard at the time that his pastoral had been well received at Rome.[1] And a few months later his pronouncement had a striking confirmation. Bishop Fessler of St. Polten had been the General Secretary of the Council and was the most learned church historian among the Austrian bishops, second only to Hefele among the Germans. He threw himself into the conflict that arose in the German lands after the Council and crossed swords with Dr. Schulte, the most active and combative spirit in the Old Catholic movement. Schulte produced a series of tracts against the Council, among them, in 1871, one entitled: *The Power of the Roman Pontiffs over Sovereigns, Countries, Peoples, and Individuals, according to the Vatican decrees.* The thesis was to extend the Infallibility so as to include all public official acts of Popes, so that the bulls of deposition of monarchs, of assigning sovereignty over territories, acts of legislation, impositions of penalties, and much else, were all declared to be infallible *ex cathedra* acts, according to the Vatican decrees. The purpose was to make the decrees preposterous by a process of *reductio ad absurdum.* Schulte's reputation as a great canon lawyer made it imperative that he should be answered, and Fessler stepped into the breach with a tract: *The True and the False Infallibility of the Popes.* It ran to three editions, and was translated into French, and into English, 1875, by Fr. St. John of the Oratory, Newman's close friend. As Secretary of the Council Fessler was behind the scenes as no one else, in closest touch with all that went on, so that of all the bishops he was by his position the best accredited interpreter of the acts of the Council. Moreover, he submitted a copy of his

[1] *Letters*, p. 253.

pamphlet to Pius IX, who had it examined by a board of theologians, and caused it to be translated into Italian, that he might read it himself. As the result the Pope sent to Fessler a warm letter of thanks and approval, signed by his own hand, for 'having brought out the true meaning of the dogma of papal infallibility'.[1] Thus it is not too much to say, that Fessler's tract, though of course not official, is in all its circumstances the most authoritative interpretation hitherto given of the infallibility decree. In the *Life of Bishop Ullathorne* I gave a schedule of Fessler's corroborations of Ullathorne's exposition; it is reproduced here:[2]

Ullathorne: The decree consists of two parts: the exposition and the definition. The definition alone is of faith, although the exposition is of great authority as explaining the sense of the definition.

Fessler: The dogmatic definition *de Fide* commences after the solemn formula *definimus*:—the introduction is very important, but it is not to be looked on as the definition itself (p. 7).

Ullathorne: It is only when the Pope exercises a certain office in a certain way that he is declared to speak without error.

Fessler: The utterances of the Pope are to be received as infallible definitions only under certain conditions, and these conditions have been exactly specified in the Vatican Council itself (p. 112).

Ullathorne: The Pope speaks *ex cathedra* 'only when he *defines* a doctrine regarding faith and morals'.

Fessler: What Popes have taught as doctrine on faith and morals, and defined (*definit* is the well-considered word of the Vatican Council), by virtue of their highest apostolical power, as true and to be held by the Universal Church, *that* alone is an infallible utterance *ex cathedra* (p. 57).

Ullathorne: The occasions for such an exercise of authority are comparatively few, and occur but now and then.

[1] Prefixed to English translation. [2] Op. cit., II, 84.

Fessler: Dr. Schulte finds a great number of papal *ex cathedra* utterances; I, in accordance with the theological faculty, find only a few (p. 52).

Ullathorne: Only after due investigation made as to what is or what is not contained in the deposit of Catholic teaching, does the Pope pronounce *ex cathedra* from his apostolic chair or throne what is to be believed, because it has always been received, as an article of Catholic tradition.

Fessler: The Pope in his doctrinal utterances only speaks what he finds, under the special divine assistance, to be already part of the truth, revealed by God, necessary for salvation, which He has given in trust to the Catholic Church (i.e. in the divine *depositum fidei*) (p. 53).

Ullathorne: It is not 'new doctrine', or any new revelation, but the 'deposit of faith delivered to the Apostles', which, not by inspiration, but by the guiding assistance of the Holy Ghost, the Popes are able to keep inviolable, and to expound without error.

Fessler: The Pope cannot according to his own will and fancy extend his infallible definition [as Schulte pretended] to matters relating to the *jus publicum*, to which the divine revelation does not extend (p. 53).

Fessler thus in striking way confirms point by point Ullathorne's interpretation. With Fessler the central position is that the definition must be interpreted and applied on strict theological and legal principles. This is the keynote of his tractate. But it was mere human nature that every bishop should have been inclined to see the definition through the colour of his own ideas; and so some of the strong infallibilists were putting forward wider and looser interpretations than those of Ullathorne. Such a one, naturally, was Manning. In October 1870, he too issued a pastoral letter, indeed a tractate of 200 pages, *The Vatican Council and its Definitions*.[1] In the elaborate explanation of the force of the infallibility decree he extends its scope so as to include dogmatic facts,

[1] Included in the vol. *Petri Privilegium*.

censures less than heresy, canonizations of saints, approbations of religious orders: all this is roundly asserted; even though Bishop Gasser, as official spokesman of the deputation *de Fide*, had laid down positively that the theological questions at issue over these matters were not touched by the definition, but were left in the state of theological opinion in which they were before the Council [1]—and still are. In particular, the word 'define' Manning said was to be taken not in a legal but in a large sense, as signifying the final decision by which any matter of faith and morals is put into a doctrinal form: all dogmatic judgements are included, all judgements in matters of dogma, as the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of uninspired books; legislative or judicial acts, judgements, sentences, or decisions, which contain the motives of such acts as derived from faith and morals.[2]

Fessler's authority is counter to all this; the burden of his tract is the necessity of *definition*. He paraphrases the words of the decree, 'doctrinam de fide vel moribus definit' thus:

> issues his final decision that a certain doctrine is to be regarded as an essential part of the Catholic faith or of Catholic morality, and to be maintained as such by the universal Church (p. 42, note).

It is worth while bringing out Fessler's teaching by citing certain passages; because, if, on the one hand, he seems to restrict the infallibility more than some other theologians are disposed to do, on the other hand, his interpretation has received at any rate the semi-official approbation of Pius IX himself.

> The Pope has the gift of infallibility, according to the manifest sense of the words of the definition, only as *supreme teacher of truths necessary for salvation revealed by God;*

[1] See p. 143. [2] Op. cit., pp. 88, 89.

not as supreme legislator in matters of discipline, not as supreme judge in ecclesiastical questions, not in respect of any other questions over which his highest governing power in the Church may still in other respects extend (p. 43).

Even if we have before us a real and true dogmatic definition of the Pope, only that portion of it is to be looked upon and accepted as an *ex cathedra* utterance which is expressly designated as 'the Definition'; and nothing whatever is to be so regarded which is only mentioned as accessory matter (p. 65).

A mere intention (or mind) of a Pope in an *ex cathedra* utterance, even if it may be assumed from his actions to have existed, if it be not expressed, is not to be looked on as a dogmatic definition (p. 69). A dogmatic definition *ex cathedra* will not be made as accessory matter to the condemnation of a book (p. 58). That the Pope speaks of his apostolic office and the plenitude of his power, and orders publication—[tests proposed by Schulte, and also by Ward]—does not constitute a document an utterance *ex cathedra* (p. 59).

Dr. Schulte's starting-point is unsound and misleading. He assumes that each individual Catholic Christian must be able, without the intervention of bishop or priest [theologians]—i.e. without recourse to any teaching authority in the Church—to recognize at once what is an *ex cathedra* utterance of the Pope, and this because 'each one has to work out his own salvation'.

The bishops and the priests are quite aware that when there is no authentic explanation of a papal *ex cathedra* utterance, the theological faculty, which has been for centuries engaged upon this question, has to be heard upon the marks of a real *ex cathedra* utterance; and that in reality the short *de Fide* definition in the Vatican Council does but contain what the science of theology has been this long time investigating fully, and considering its application to the difficult questions arising out of the history of ancient times. But we shall look in vain, if we wish to find from history or theology that papal *ex cathedra* utterances are to be recognized, sometimes from the words used, sometimes from the circumstances, and sometimes from the definition

itself, as though each one of these marks was of itself sufficient to establish the fact.

On our part, we find that it is the view of Catholic theologians that there are two marks of an *ex cathedra* utterance, and, moreover, that these two marks must both be found together: viz. that (1) the *objectum* or subject-matter of the definition must be doctrine of faith or morals; and (2) the Pope must express his intention, by virtue of his supreme teaching power, to declare this particular doctrine on faith and morals to be an integral part of the truth necessary to salvation revealed by God, and as such to be held by the whole Catholic Church; he must publish it, and so give a formal definition in the matter (definire). Any mere circumstances do not suffice to enable a person to recognize that which a Pope says as an utterance *ex cathedra*, or, in other words, as a *de Fide* definition. It is only when the two other marks just mentioned are acknowledged to be present, that the circumstances of the case serve to support and strengthen the proof of the Pope's intention; and this proof will be drawn from his own words (pp. 50, 51).

The Swiss bishops in June 1871 issued a joint Pastoral Instruction on the decrees. Naturally it is popular in character and not technically theological, like Fessler's tract; but it also gives a similar strict interpretation, and it also called forth a warm approval from the Pope. The following declarations occur in it:[1]

The Pope is infallible solely and exclusively when, as supreme doctor of the Church, he pronounces in a matter of faith or morals a definition which has to be accepted and held as obligatory by all the faithful. Again: It is the revelation given by God, the deposit of faith, which is the domain perfectly traced out and exactly circumscribed, within which the infallible decisions of the Pope are able to extend themselves, and in regard to which the faith of Catholics can be bound to fresh obligations. . . . It in no way depends upon the caprice of the Pope or upon his good

[1] Cited in English 'Fessler', pp. viii, 63.

pleasure, to make such and such a doctrine the object of a dogmatic definition: he is tied up and limited to the divine revelation, and to the truths which that revelation contains; he is tied up and limited by the Creeds already in existence, and by the preceding definitions of the Church; he is tied up and limited by the divine law and by the constitution of the Church: lastly, he is tied up and limited by that doctrine, divinely revealed, which affirms that alongside religious society there is civil society; that alongside the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy there is the power of Temporal Magistrates, invested in their own domain with a full sovereignty, and to whom we owe in conscience obedience and respect in all things morally permitted, and which belong to the domain of civil society.

The Pope wrote to the Swiss bishops that nothing could be more opportune or more worthy of praise, or cause the truth to stand out more clearly, than their pastoral.

It thus appears that after the Council what may be called moderate, even strict, interpretations of the decree found favour at Rome. Fessler's interpretation has been found by some theologians unduly strict; yet the Pope's commendatory letter certainly implies that he had set forth 'the true meaning' of the definition. Had his interpretation been judged unsound in a matter of importance by the Roman theologians who examined his tract, he would hardly have got an unqualified approval from the Pope. If the wording of the definition be considered, in itself and apart from extraneous theological considerations, it seems to convey the precise meaning Fessler sees in it. It is often said loosely that the definition declares the Pope *ex cathedra* to possess the infallibility with which Christ endowed the Church. This is not strictly correct: what is declared is that the Pope *ex cathedra* defining a doctrine of faith or morals possesses that infallibility with which Christ endowed the Church in

defining a doctrine of faith or morals. Thus the wording of the definition covers only the defining of a doctrine of faith or morals. And in the preamble of the decree the ground in which the Pope's infallibility operates is 'the deposit of faith' entrusted to the Apostles: that the Roman Pontiffs 'may inviolably preserve and faithfully expound the revelation delivered through the Apostles, that is, the deposit of faith'. The emphasis is all on the deposit of faith and its safeguarding.

Rome has given one official commentary on the decree. The Codex of Canon Law has a section, 'De Magisterio Ecclesiastico' (Canons 1322-4). Being a code of laws, it is concerned only with law and fact, not with theological opinion. But many of the canons incidentally enunciate points of doctrine, as those containing definitions of the Sacraments. The following are the statements made in regard to the Magisterium:

> Christ the Lord committed to the Church the deposit of faith, that she, by the constant assistance of the Holy Ghost, might inviolably preserve and faithfully expound revealed doctrine.
>
> All those things are to be believed by divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the word of God, written or handed down by tradition, and are proposed by the Church, either by solemn judgement or by her ordinary and universal magisterium, to be believed as having been divinely revealed.[1] Such solemn judgement is pronounced either by an œcumenical Council or by the Roman Pontiff speaking *ex cathedra*.
>
> Nothing is taken as declared or defined dogmatically, unless this fact [that it has been so defined] is manifestly certain.[2]

[1] Cited from Vatican Council, Constitution on Catholic Faith, c. III (below, Appendix).

[2] Declarata seu definita dogmatice res nulla intelligitur, nisi id manifeste constiterit.

It is evident that the foregoing statement has been kept studiously within the limit of what is certain in regard to the Magisterium of the Church, namely, that its infallibility comes into play in the domain of divine revelation : it refrains from going beyond this.

The last of the canons just quoted—that nothing be taken as dogmatically defined, unless it be manifestly certain that it has been so defined—raises an interesting question : Have there been any—and if so, how many and what—*ex cathedra* infallible definitions since the Vatican Council ?

The chief work of vulgarization (in the good sense of the word) on this range of subjects, wherein are set forth and discussed in popular yet scientific way, the ideas of theologians, is the study by the French Jesuit, Père Lucien Choupin : *Valeur des Décisions doctrinales et disciplinaires du Saint-Siège*, first published in 1907, then in 1912, and finally in 1928, revised and augmented.[1] Choupin is a recognized authority on the subject, and his first hundred pages are concerned with the questions that are interesting us. His position may be summed up under two heads : on the one hand, he stands for a strict legal interpretation of the Vatican definition itself ; on the other, he presses strongly the obligation for Catholics of accepting, not merely with respectful silence, but with a real ' religious assent ', the teachings of the supreme authority, even though not guaranteed by the infallibility belonging to *ex cathedra* definitions.

But perhaps, instead of analysing Choupin, it will be better to take what is probably the most recent treatment of the subject, the elaborate and careful article, ' Infaillibilité du Pape ', by Père E. Dublanchy, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique :* in effect a learned treatise, of date 1923, by a competent theologian

[1] Paris, Beauchesne, 630 pp.

resident in Rome, dealing very fully with every aspect of the subject—to which any one may be referred who desires to comprehend the import of the Catholic doctrine of papal infallibility. On the questions immediately before us Choupin is his chief authority.

The conditions that make manifest, as required by the canon, the fact that a doctrine is being dogmatically defined, are laid down in this article, according to the teaching of recent theologians : [1]

> An *ex cathedra* definition is *an explicit and final doctrinal judgement* given by the Pope, relating to faith or morals, in such sort that the faithful may be certain that the doctrine is judged by the Pope to belong to revelation, or to have with revelation a connexion that is certain ; and expressed in such a way that the obligation is made clear to all of giving full interior assent to the doctrine defined, or to the rejection of propositions condemned as directly or indirectly counter to Catholic Faith.
>
> It is enough that the Pope formally manifests his judgement that the acceptance or the rejection of a doctrine is of strict obligation for all the faithful, by imposing an anathema, or by proposing a doctrine as a truth of faith, or as one that cannot be rejected without detriment to faith.

Moreover, as in the case of the decrees of Councils, only the actual definition, the thing intended to be defined, is infallible : arguments, reasons, things incidentally said or praised in the expository preamble to the definition, are not included ; that only is the infallible definition which is explicitly imposed on the belief and assent of the faithful.

Such principles laid down, this theologian considers whether since the Vatican Council there have been any infallible *ex cathedra* definitions. Bearing in mind the canon, that nothing is to be taken as a dogmatic definition unless its character as such is unmis-

[1] Op. cit., tome vii, col. 1699.

takable, he concludes that probably there have been none. He rules out, as does Choupin, the great encyclicals of Leo XIII :

> None of the encyclicals of Leo XIII is spoken of as containing a definition *ex cathedra* in the sense just indicated, though there may be in them many infallible teachings concerning truths previously defined, or always taught by the ordinary magisterium, which are recalled by the Pope and proposed as certain truths.[1]

Others have seen dogmatic definitions in two of Leo's decrees : the declaration of the nullity of Anglican Orders, and the condemnation of ' Americanism '. The latter is a long hortatory admonition reprobating tendencies that had shown themselves in certain circles of the Church in the United States. The Pope's teaching will readily and without question be accepted as true by Catholics ; but the document seems to contain nothing of the nature of a formal doctrinal definition. The decree on Anglican Orders does conclude with a formal judgement :

> And so assenting to all the decrees of our Predecessors on this subject, and most fully confirming them, and as it were renewing them by our authority, ' Motu proprio, certa scientia ' [technical terms], we pronounce and declare that the ordinations carried out by the Anglican rite were wholly invalid and are altogether null [irritas prorsus fuisse et esse omninoque nullas].

Whether such a judgement complies with the requirements of the theologians for a dogmatic definition may be doubted. Moreover, it is in part based

[1] Reference may be made to another article by Dublanchy, ' Église ', in vol. iv of the same *Dictionnaire*, the section on the infallible ' Magisterium of the Church ', cols. 2175-2200.

on dogmatic facts. Neither Dublanchy in the *Dictionnaire* nor Choupin makes any mention of it.[1]

The pronouncements of Pius X condemning Modernism have found upholders of their claim to be regarded as *ex cathedra* dogmatic definitions :

(1) The decree *Lamentabile* (July 1907) contains a series of sixty-five propositions condemned and reprobated in general, without specific censures being attached. It was issued by the Holy Office with the Pope's approval, and as such in itself could not claim to be a personal *ex cathedra* act of the Pope.[2] But

[1] At the close of the long article ' Anglican Orders ' in the *Catholic Encyclopædia* the late Fr. Sydney Smith, S.J., treats of the ' Authority ' of the decision. His position is that infallibility is not claimed for it ' on the ground of the terms of the Vatican definition ', but because it falls within the sphere of dogmatic facts, to which the infallibility of Church and Pope, according to practically certain theological opinion, extends—a matter that was to have come before the Council, and will if ever it be resumed. He puts it thus : ' To suppose that Church authority can define a doctrine to be true, but cannot decide whether it is contained in or denied by any particular writing—such as an ordination rite—is to suppose that the power of defining doctrine is largely nugatory.' The whole matter of condemning writings, as distinguished from propositions, as containing heresy is at stake. Even pending the final settlement of the extension of infallibility beyond articles of Faith strictly so called, to dogmatic facts and censures short of heresy, if so be, the writer of the article concludes, ' it may safely be assumed that the bull fixes the belief and practice of the Catholic Church irrevocably ' ; and this is what Leo XIII said in a subsequent letter to the Archbishop of Paris.

[2] See Choupin, op. cit., pp. 71 ff. The *Tablet* leading article, July 27, 1907, is perfectly explicit on this. As the technical theological articles of the *Tablet* are written by highly qualified theologians, it will be to the purpose to cite some words from this article : ' It is not promulgated with all those solemn forms by which the Holy Father makes a pronouncement of this kind personally his own, and lifts it to the eminence of an infallible utterance. . . . Clearly this decree is in no sense an infallible declaration of the faith. But it is a genuine exercise of the

in the following November Pius X issued a 'Motu proprio' decree, whereby he renewed and confirmed it, attaching an excommunication to the defence of any of the propositions therein condemned. Some theologians held that this confirmation raised the *Lamentabile* to the position of an *ex cathedra* condemnation. Other eminent theologians held it did not confer on the decree that which was wanting to it in order to be a strictly and formally papal decision (so Choupin).

(2) The Encyclical *Pascendi* (September 1907). It is a long document occupying twenty-eight columns of the *Tablet*. Three-quarters are taken up with an elaborate exposition of the Modernist system in all its aspects, a running commentary of condemnation being interjected; the final quarter contains practical measures for the suppression of Modernism—close supervision of studies in seminaries, censorship of publications, etc. That the *Pascendi* as a whole should be a dogmatic definition, as required by the theologians, could with difficulty be maintained: it would be different in character from all other such dogmatic definitions. But at the end of the exposition of the Modernist system lies embedded a sentence in which some see a dogmatic judgement that may be an *ex cathedra* definition: 'Looking at the entire system in a single view, no one will wonder if we define it thus, affirming it to be a collection of all the heresies.' But this sentence lacks the precision found in dogmatic condemnations; nor does the word 'define' carry its

teaching office of the Church. . . . The Congregation of the Inquisition is not infallible; the Pope in approving and confirming its decree does not speak *ex cathedra*. But he does here exercise his power of teaching the whole Church; the true Catholic has no other course to pursue than to accept, humbly, honestly, and fully, the ruling of the supreme teaching power. . . . It is not, however, the assent of faith that is required of them, such as is given to articles of divine revelation.'

theological sense, but seems to be equivalent to 'describe' or 'call'; nor are the formalities present which the theologians require for dogmatic definitions. And the writer in the *Dictionnaire* quotes with approval the opinion of Père Choupin that the *Pascendi* is only 'the highest act of the pontifical magisterium next to *ex cathedra* definition'. In his book Choupin ranges it without discussion along with the encyclicals of Leo XIII (p. 52).

Thus the writer concludes that it is doubtful whether since the Council there has been any infallible *ex cathedra* utterance of a Pope; and in absence of certain proof of such a definition strictly obligatory, the principle, he says, may prudently be followed: 'Non est imponenda obligatio de qua certo non constat.'

It need not be said that such solemn utterances as the *Pascendi* and the great encyclicals of Leo XIII are received by Catholics as utterances of the ordinary magisterium of the Church, and as such are accepted as true expressions of the Catholic doctrine with sincere interior assent. But the writers we have been using, Choupin and Dublanchy, point out that such adhesion to teaching not infallible is not the firm assent of faith, but a prudent assent based on a moral conviction that such teaching will be right. Choupin (p. 85) lays down:

> Whereas an infallible *ex cathedra* definition is absolutely true, irreformable, unchangeable, and to be accepted with an absolute certitude and a full and entire submission; a doctrinal decision of the supreme teaching authority, not guaranteed by the charisma of infallibility, is to be accepted by a judgement that it is prudent and *sure* to regard this proposition as true,—and this with an interior intellectual adhesion, though such adhesion be not a definitive absolute judgement, irreformable of itself.

We are not so sensitive or so exacting in this matter of infallibility as our forefathers were. At the middle of the last century there was a school among Catholic thinkers who held that practically only those things actually defined by Councils or Popes as of Catholic Faith could claim the full submission of interior assent, all else being legitimate object of free investigation and independent judgement. And in reaction against this attitude, others began to indulge in a craving for infallible certitude, and to look for it in everything: one bishop at the Council complained against the definition, that it did not enable him to know with infallible certainty that the spoliation of the Papal States was a crime. Nowadays Catholics have, for the more part, settled down into a middle position, and are prepared to accept as right and true a great body of teachings and judgements of the Popes, without requiring to know that it is guaranteed infallible, trusting to the Providence of God over the teaching authority of the Church, and the promised guidance of the Holy Spirit, satisfied that such pronouncements will not be made rashly or without proper care and prayer. This is called 'religious assent', given to the teaching of encyclicals, allocutions, disciplinary sentences, not falling within the sphere of divine faith, or even of ecclesiastical faith.

Dublanchy in the *Dictionnaire* gives a list of papal, as distinguished from conciliar utterances, which by common consent are looked upon as certainly infallible *ex cathedra* definitions according to the Vatican decree. There are just twelve such in the whole range of Church history: six are positive statements of Catholic doctrine, beginning with the Tome of St. Leo, ending with the definition of the Immaculate Conception by Pius IX; six are condemnations of erroneous propositions of Luther, Jansenius, Molinos, Fénelon, Quesnel,

Council of Pistoia.[1] The 'Quanta cura' of Pius IX, 1864, is left doubtful; the 'Mirari vos' of Gregory XVI, condemning Lammenais and the *Avenir*, is not in the list—its *ex cathedra* character was one of Ward's chief theses. As for the Syllabus of 1864, very commonly defended as *ex cathedra* by the theologians of the sixties and seventies, though questioned by Fessler, its infallibility is dismissed as being now almost given up: 'à peuprès abandonnée'.

It is at first sight surprising to see how completely have been falsified, on the one hand, the panic fears of Döllinger, Schulte, Acton, and the Statesmen; and on the other, the hopes and expectations of such intransigents as Ward and Veuillot, as to the likely result of the definition,—that it would issue in a constant flow of *ex cathedra* utterances settling infallibly for Catholics questions of every kind, of doctrine, philosophy, science, social ethics, relations of Church and State; reducing Catholic Governments to bondage, and setting up a veritable theocracy.[2] Rather does it seem to give point to Salmon's gibe—or was it Whateley's?—that the Pope is infallible so long as he defines nothing. But in truth, the legalizing the definition and restricting the exercise of the infallibility was an inevitable consequence of the defining the doctrine. When anything is defined and made

[1] I have not tried to go into the reason why the condemnation of Baius should not be included.

[2] Absolutely grotesque is the following idea of 'Janus': Every other authority in theological study will pale beside the living oracle on the Tiber, which speaks with plenary inspiration, and can always be appealed to. What use in tedious investigations of Scripture, what use in wasting time on the difficult study of tradition, when a single utterance of the infallible Pope may shatter at a breath the labours of half a lifetime, and a telegraphic message to Rome will get an answer in a few hours or a few days, which becomes an axiom and an article of faith? (p. 48, Eng. trans.).

law, the canonists and theologians seize hold of it, as the lawyers do of an Act of Parliament.

Other, more theoretical, aspects of the definition also are discussed: for instance, the relation between the infallibility of the Pope and the infallibility of the Church. The definition lays down that 'the Pope *ex cathedra* defining doctrine of faith or morals, is possessed of the infallibility which the Saviour wished His Church to be possessed of in defining doctrine of faith and morals'. Some bishops at the Council objected to this formula, in that it seemed to make infallibility habitual, endemic so to say, in the Church, but only transient and occasional in the Pope. This touches on the point the Minority bishops sought to get explicitly recognized in the definition,—that Pope or General Council only speaks the mind of the Church, declaring what the faith of the Church has been and is: such was Bellarmine's position (see Vol. I, p. 38). Some bishops had advocated the view that infallibility resides primarily in the Pope, and is communicated to the Church from him, so that infallibility resides fundamentally in the Pope. This was advocated in a document put in by Cardinal Corsi of Pisa and some bishops of Central Italy (Mansi, III (51), 1014), and in a speech of the Bishop of Urgell in Spain. We have heard Bishop Gasser, speaking in behalf of the deputation *de Fide*, say he had listened with sorrow to such a view proclaimed from the ambo.

A prominent Dominican theologian, Fr. Vincent McNabb, has recently published a tract, *Infallibility* (London 1927), in which he deals very clearly with the theological questions and problems arising out of the Vatican definition. He draws an important and true distinction between the 'consent of the Church' and the 'sense or mind of the Church'. He explains it by an analogy:

Infallibility is a divine assistance enabling the teaching Church to declare or expound the deposit of faith possessed by her. A judge sitting in the judgement seat would not be speaking *ex cathedra* if he refused to listen to the evidence for the fact or for the law. His judgement to be binding must follow on the evidence, and this evidence is a *sensus testium* (the mind of the witnesses). Now although it would be true to say that the *ex cathedra* official judgement of the judge needs the evidence of the witnesses as a necessary preliminary, yet it would be false to say that the official *ex cathedra* judgement of the judge needs the consent of the witnesses to make it binding. The evidence of witnesses gives the necessary *material* for the official judgement, but does not give the necessary *sanction*.

In the same way the *ex cathedra* judgement of the Pope (or Council) needs the *Mind* of the Church as its necessary preliminary material; but does not need the *Consent* of the Church as its necessary subsequent sanction. It is now heresy to say that the infallible utterances of the Pope (and Council) are necessarily related to the subsequent Consent of the Church; yet it would be hazardous to say that these infallible utterances of the Pope (and Council) are not related to the pre-existing Mind of the Church (p. 92).

Commenting on the wording of the definition, 'the Sovereign Pontiff is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed', Fr. McNabb says:

Here is a clear recognition and statement of the distinction between the infallibility of the Pope and of the Church. That this distinction is valid may be judged from the fact that infallibility resides not merely with the Pope, but with General Councils, i.e. with assemblies of bishops convened and approved by the Holy See. The Church may be said to have two organs of infallibility, the Pope and General Councils. Whether these two may be considered organically or functionally distinct is a somewhat delicate point of theology. Leaving this merely speculative matter aside, it should be noted that infallibility is primarily given for the Church, and in some sense resides primarily in the

Church. Neither the Pope nor General Councils are ends in themselves: they look towards the Church. . . . So may it be said in a very true sense that the gift of infallibility resides primarily in the Church rather than in the Popes or General Councils. . . . Though Popes and General Councils may be looked upon as the proximate principles or organs of the Church's infallibility, yet it is true to say that in a certain sense infallibility resides primarily not so much in Popes or General Councils as in the Church. When, then, it is recognized that Faith demands objective infallibility, and that Conciliar and Papal infallibility, though not subordinate to the infallibility of the Church, are yet referred on to it, matters are seen in their true light (op. cit., 52).

This seems to be sound interpretation. The infallibility of the Church is taken as the basic idea, the thing known and accepted by all Catholics as of Catholic Faith, a charisma or gift that Christ willed His Church to be possessed of and promised to her: 'Go teach all nations . . . and behold I am with you all days to the end of the world.' Then it is said that the Pope teaching *ex cathedra* is possessed of this same infallibility: as a General Council with Pope is a recognized organ whereby the infallible teaching of the Church is brought to authentic declaration, so the Pope alone *ex cathedra* is another organ whereby the infallible teaching of the Church is authoritatively declared. Fr. McNabb is surely right in saying that the difficulty lies in the idea of infallibility at all, rather than in the infallibility of the Pope.

Bellarmine thus explained the infallibility of the Church:

When we say, the Church cannot err, we understand this both of the whole body of faithful and of the whole body of bishops; so that the meaning of the proposition 'the Church cannot err' is this: that which all the faithful hold as of faith, necessarily is true and of faith; and

similarly, that which all the bishops teach as being of faith, necessarily is true and of faith. (Cited in Adnotations to the theologians' schema on the Church, No. 15.)[1]

Very important questions in regard to the status of diocesan bishops arose at the Council, but did not come to an issue. There was an understanding, there is evidence that a promise was given, that on the resumption of the Council in the winter of 1870 this matter of the Episcopate would be the first business taken in hand, as part of the outstanding schema 'de Ecclesia Christi'. In regard to the exercise of the infallibility, it was hoped by some that the chapter on 'the Infallibility of the Church' would afford an opportunity of bringing out, what was in practice agreed by most, that when Pope (or General Council) speaks infallibly he is uttering the mind of the infallible Church. The preamble of the decree lays down that the more solemn ways of ascertaining the mind of the Church are by œcumenical Councils, or by ascertaining the mind of the Church dispersed, or by particular synods—i.e. through the bishops: but the bishops do not necessarily always come in, for it is added, 'sometimes using other helps'. Even such strong Minority bishops as Hefele and Moriarty recognized that frequently errors are broached so manifestly counter to Catholic Faith that it would be needless and absurd for the Pope to consult the bishops of the world before condemning them as heretical: he would, and does, in that case use the advice of his theologians. Thus the decree makes it certain that the Pope does not consult bishops in all cases of dogmatic *ex cathedra* pronouncements, and that therefore previous consultation with bishops as such is not a necessary condition for the exercise of his infallibility.

When we come to consider the question of the

[1] Mansi, III (51), 579; *Lac* 598.

jurisdiction of bishops in face of the doctrine of the primacy as defined in chapter III of the Constitution, —which at the beginning of this chapter I said seems to be a really more fundamental matter than the infallibility,—we must remember that there was not on the part of the Minority bishops any real questioning of the doctrine laid down; the leaders declared it to be the Catholic Faith: only the terms 'ordinary and episcopal' were by some objected to, not so much in themselves, as being likely to be misunderstood, and to give countenance to the idea that the bishops are but the Pope's vicars. Against such an inference the decree expressly declares that 'this power of the Sovereign Pontiff is no prejudice to that ordinary and immediate power of episcopal jurisdiction by which bishops, who, set by the Holy Ghost, have succeeded to the place of the Apostles, feed and govern, each his own flock assigned to him, as true pastors'.[1] Leo XIII, in the encyclical 'Satis cognitum' declares that 'bishops are not to be accounted vicars of the Roman Pontiff'. And the recent Codex of Canon Law lays down:

> Bishops are the successors of the Apostles, and by divine institution are set over individual churches, which they govern with ordinary power, under the authority of the Roman Pontiff (canon 329). Cf.: Ordinary power of jurisdiction is that which by the law itself belongs to an office; delegated is that which is given to a person (canon 197).

Such pronouncements bring out unmistakably that the Pope's universal jurisdiction is not held to impair the true episcopal jurisdiction of bishops in their dioceses, which is of 'divine institution'. The bishops of the Western Church are bound by the body of laws of the Codex of Canon Law of Benedict XV; and

[1] Constitution, c. III, § 3 (Appendix).

they are bound in matters of public divine worship by the regulations of the Congregation of Rites; and in other matters by the decisions of other Roman Courts. It is open to a Catholic to think that there is in some respects unnecessary and undue centralization, —St. Bernard thought so in his time—and that the bishops might be given a freer hand. But it may well be considered that some centralization is the price of unity in a religious body that exists throughout the world, in all countries and nations and races and tongues. If all bishops had a free hand in liturgical matters, and could do as they pleased in the ordering of divine worship, it is likely that undesirable results would soon manifest themselves. The need of legal liturgical standards has recently been experienced outside the Catholic Church, as a safeguard against liturgical anarchy. Conformity of practice and observance in a Church really Catholic can be secured only by a central authority.

CHAPTER XXVIII

IMPRESSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

On return home from the Council Bishop Ullathorne issued in October 1870 to his flock of the Birmingham diocese a pastoral letter giving an account of what had taken place at the Council. His words picturing the general procedure, atmosphere, temper of the Council may fittingly be reproduced here:

Restored by the blessing of God to my ordinary health, I deem it amongst my earliest duties to put before you the decrees of the Vatican Council defining as of faith the doctrine of the infallible teaching of the Vicar of Christ. But as so many false statements have gone abroad respecting the way in which the question was treated in the Council, it will be but justice to that holy and august assembly, if, in the first instance, I give, in a brief manner, the history of the introduction and the passing of that most important decree. . . .

Keeping, then, the widespread misrepresentations in view, let me first say a word upon the spirit which animated the Fathers of the Council. And of course I speak of what passed within that sacred assembly, being a witness of all from first to last; to which I may venture to add, being a witness also of all that passed in one of the most important of the special committees, to which I had the honour of being elected. . . .

Never before had the Church witnessed an episcopal assemblage so numerous; and most impressive was it to see the patriarchs and prelates of all the Oriental Rites without exception mingled with the primates, archbishops, bishops, and heads of Religious Orders of the Western

Church. To the number of nearly eight hundred they had come from near and far off, even from the remotest regions of the globe. Never before had so wide a reach of learning and so great an accumulation of experience come together for the service of the Church. . . .

The qualities that adorned the assemblies of the Council were order and dignity, charity and the spirit of brotherhood, kindliness and courtesy of manner, unwavering patience, and a frankness and freedom of speech which was only controlled by these virtues; those qualities, in short, which Catholics of all nations are accustomed to contemplate in their bishops. No one could enter the Council without being struck and edified by the simple and dignified bearing of the prelates, their frank and open bearing towards each other, and that unity of brethren in the bond of charity which became the chief ministers of Christ and the dispensers of God's mysteries. Often was admiration expressed at this spectacle, which even the strongest diversity of opinion seemed never to interfere with.[1] . . .

Is it necessary I should say that there were no personal altercations, except in the imagination of certain newspaper correspondents? Ardour there was in debate, but an ardour replete with gravity, and with a sense of responsibility that weighed more heavily than usual upon men accustomed to bear the burden of the Church. The great freedom of speech sometimes occasioned calls to order; but, with rare exceptions, the manifest sense of the Council anticipated the voice of the President. In no case was a discussion closed by the Presidents until either there were no more speakers who offered themselves, or until the majority of the Council plainly indicated that the subject was exhausted, and then the closing of the debate was decided by the general vote.[2]

[1] Even at the height of their controversy friendly and affectionate letters passed between Dechamps and Dupanloup. (Mourret, pp. 170, 282.)

[2] The continuation, describing the course of the infallibility discussions, may be found in *Life of Bishop Ullathorne*, II, 69; his interpretation of the definition has been given above (p. 209).

Ullathorne's picture is confirmed by Cardinal Gibbons : [1]

> The conduct of the bishops towards each other was marked by mutual esteem and by good temper that was rarely ruffled even when the most burning questions were deliberated. The most ample liberty of discussion prevailed. The presiding cardinals exhibited a courtesy of manner and a forbearance even in the heat of debate that was worthy of all praise. Elsewhere he speaks of ' the mutual respect and patient attention ', ' the self-restraint and affability, despite intensity of feeling and strength of conviction '.

I submit that what has gone before in these volumes, based on the authentic records and documents, justifies us in taking as substantially true Bishop Ullathorne's account of what took place in the Council Chamber ; and consequently rejecting the picture of violence, disorder, and unseemly behaviour that has been the popular Protestant tradition, based on Quirinus, Pomponio Leto, and the correspondents of the newspapers. The misrepresentations and exaggerations of such writers, engendered by partisan spirit, hostility to the Church, panic fear, are to be almost wholly discarded ; and the Vatican Council, in so far as the inside working was concerned, may take its place among the most seemly of the Councils. For it has to be admitted that often the Acts even of General Councils are far from pleasing reading : this may be said of Constantinople I and of Ephesus, and even of Chalcedon ; and at Trent there occurred episodes more disedifying than any of the Vatican Council.[2] There was at it one, but only one, really very regrettable incident,

[1] *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, I, 13 ; cf. 154, 178.

[2] Ollivier (op. cit., I, 472 ff.) collects the lively ' scenes ' of Trent.

that of March 22. So much for clearing away the mass of misconception and prejudice hitherto current in circles outside the Catholic Church.

But for Catholics a number of impressions and reflections may remain, giving food for thought.

Catholics may reflect with thankfulness that out of the Council there finally emerged two doctrinal Constitutions of first importance. They are printed in full, Latin and English, as Appendix of this volume. The importance of the second, on the Papacy, is recognized on all hands. And anyone in touch with the religious-philosophical problems of the day, will be able to estimate the value of the first, as safeguarding the basic principles of traditional Catholic Christianity. Thus Catholics may thankfully rejoice in the outcome of the Vatican Council.

But the course of its procedure and the process of gestation of the decrees does give rise to thoughts of various kinds, that might be of practical import, should the rumours now and then current of a possible resumption of the Council ever come to fulfilment.

To the present historian of the Council it seems that the official programme as announced in the bull of Indiction was much too wide and too vague: to find remedies for the evils of the age, intellectual, social, political—it was a magnificent conception, but too vast to be realizable. And when the bishops were invited to suggest any subjects that seemed to them to be for the good of religion, of the Church, of society, there resulted such a crop of most diverse topics, that the Congregation whose business it was to report on such proposals was unable to cope with the mass of material that poured in, and no Council could have dealt with a tithe of it. It does seem that a General Council should be convoked to deal with some definite issue: a heresy to be ruled out, a doctrine to be defined. True, Trent ranged over a wide field of

doctrine; but it was question of asserting Catholic doctrine against the errors of the Reformers.

There may have been a basis of truth in the cry of the enemies of the Council and of the Papacy, that the real purpose of the Council was withheld, camouflaged; that it was the defining of the position of the Pope, and in particular his infallibility; and that every one, friend and foe alike, knew this quite well and openly proclaimed it. For instance, Ullathorne took it for granted in the letter of October 26, 1869 (Vol. I, p. 143); and as we have seen, bishops on both sides, Dechamps and Manning, Maret and Dupanloup, and the Catholic press, Ultramontane and liberal, discussed it publicly before the Council as the question of the hour. The motives that impelled the authorities at Rome not to put it forward, but leave it to be called for by the bishops, may easily be understood; but looking back it is difficult for us to doubt that the misrepresentation, the excitement, and the heat engendered, would have been less, had the thing been openly announced from the beginning as part of the official programme, so that the suspicion of its introduction being the intrigue of the Curia and of a party might have been avoided.

When we come to consider the actual working of the Council many thoughts arise. Without doubt the idea was reasonable and good, that the matters to come before the Council should be prepared and drafted beforehand by expert committees of theologians and canonists drawn from all parts of the world. Yet in fact it did not work well. Every single schema, whether on doctrine or on discipline, actually subjected to the criticism of the bishops was ruthlessly mauled, and had to be sent out to the deputations to be drastically amended, or even wholly recast. And it will hardly be questioned that the reformed texts, the outcome of the fire of episcopal criticism, were in

each case a marked improvement on the original schema of the theologians. This is a somewhat unexpected result. It may be that there is an element of truth in Ullathorne's notion, that in the matter of defining doctrine, the bishops, with their practical experience, not to speak of their charisma as successors of the Apostles, see better than the theologians. It is likely enough that an episcopal element on the preparatory commissions—perhaps bishops who after having been professors of theology, had had experience in the pastoral charge and in the responsibilities of governing great dioceses,—might have helped to produce dogmatic and disciplinary schemas that would have been more acceptable to the body of bishops in the Council.

It is manifest that there must needs be great difficulty in managing a deliberative assembly of seven hundred men without experience and without tradition in the conduct of debates. There was lack of order and of co-ordination in the discussions. Many individual speeches were of high quality both in matter and in manner; but until the Council settled down to the specific questions of the Pope's primacy and infallibility, little real discussion was possible, except on the deputations. A long schema of a dozen chapters was submitted for discussion as a whole, and the speakers each took, at random it may be said, such point or points as interested them, without relation to what had been said by previous speakers. It is not easy to suggest how, in a so big and amorphous assembly, a more businesslike procedure could be devised, compatible with proper freedom of debate. But the outcome of the Council, high though it was in quality, was in quantity disappointing, not proportionate to the time and labour spent on it. Anyone who reads the speeches must be impressed by the fact that the waste of time was very great. The only

likely suggestion made at the Council was that sub-committees of bishops, chosen to represent the different points of view, should discuss at round-table conferences the subjects under debate and present reports to the Council.

It may be thought that the Presidents were responsible for the unsatisfactory character of the debates, and in some measure this is true. Yet they can hardly be blamed. For men untrained in the art of presiding over and controlling a great deliberative assembly, to preside efficiently over the Vatican Council was a task wellnigh impossible. They were certainly too lenient about calls to order; no Speaker of the House of Commons would tolerate the long and flagrant wanderings from the question before the House indulged in freely, even unconscionably, by many of the Fathers. But if there was weakness in their ruling, there was not, except on one or two occasions of real provocation, any failure in patience or courtesy in their endeavours to curb the episcopal verbosity that often manifested itself.

A question that will call for consideration at any future General Council is the matter of Secrecy. At the Vatican Council all taking part in it, bishops, theologians, officials, were bound by oath to maintain the strictest secrecy in regard to the affairs of the Council. Under this obligation of secrecy fell all the schemata and all the Council documents circulated among the bishops; the names of the speakers were published, but what each one said, and the side on which he spoke, was all to be kept secret. As a fact the secrecy was badly kept. Not only the members of the Council, but printers and binders had in their hands the documents; and it was common knowledge that the Embassies were able to buy copies of everything printed, so that at times documents were in the hands of the Governments, and in the public press, before

they were in the hands of the bishops. Secrets in the keeping of seven hundred bishops and as many theologians, and perhaps a hundred more officials, as stenographers and others, to say nothing of the printers, were bound to leak out. Friedrich, one of the theologians, openly in Quirinus' Letters scouted the idea of there being any obligation of secrecy, and openly communicated everything to Acton, to Döllinger, and to the Bavarian Ministry. Manning had a formal dispensation to communicate everything to Odo Russell, for the purpose of countering Acton's endeavours to move Gladstone and the English Cabinet to intervene; and Icard's Diary declares that Russell spoke freely in Rome of what he had learned of the doings of the Council.[1] Breaches of the secrecy were not confined to one side. It was sometimes not easy to draw the line, and bishops were not always discreet. Louis Veuillot was in Rome, and his brother in the *Life* declares that the Council 'had no secrets from him', and that the most confidential documents were communicated to the *Univers*.[2]

The result was neither secrecy nor publicity, but an atmosphere of rumour and suspicion, of stories, reports, surmises, that could be neither proved nor refuted. Thus Quirinus had an open field and a free course, being the only circumstantial statements of what was going on in the Council and at Rome. His Letters were received joyfully, triumphantly, by the press and by the great world hostile to the Catholic Church; and Catholics were distressed and mystified and upset, no definite refutation, only general denials and protests, coming from the tongue-tied bishops. The only effective refutation would have been the publication from week to week of full reports of the transactions and debates.

[1] Mourret, *Concile du Vatican*, p. 199. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

At the very beginning an influential group of bishops made a representation on this matter of secrecy, urging that it was against the spirit of the age, which was all for publicity; and that it would in all likelihood occasion far greater troubles and evils than the publishing of all that took place.[1] The event seems to show that there was much truth in the contention, and that less excitement, less storm, less suspicion and misunderstanding, would have arisen, had even reporters of the public press been given entrance to the debates. Certainly, if ever the Council meets again, the surest way of killing off all excitement, and even all public interest in its proceedings, would probably be to broadcast all with loud speakers over the world: soon even the most curious would tire of listening in!

But indeed, should the Vatican Council be called into being again, it is impossible to imagine a renewal of the wild world-excitement in which the Council of 1870 was held. So far as Catholics are concerned, the chief matter in hot controversy in the 'sixties has been put at rest by the Council in a way that was decisive, and yet has proved moderate, falsifying alike the fears and the hopes of extremists on each wing. Certain points were left open to be dealt with on the reassembling of the Council in the winter, and so are still undecided. Such were the theological questions concerning the objects of the infallibility of the Church spoken of in the foregoing chapter, and the matter on which Ullathorne and many others were solicitous, namely, the determining of the position and the powers and rights of diocesan bishops. That these questions should have been settled would certainly have been advantageous. Still, on the whole, there is good reason for thinking that the suspension of the

[1] Mansi, II (50), 43; *Lac* 916.

Council, when it had achieved just so much as it had, was an ordering of Providence. In the natural course the burning questions of Church and State would have come on; and in the temper in which men's minds were in 1870-71, it is humanly speaking more than probable that they would have been faced and formulated in ways that would have raised great difficulties between the Church and the modern State and modern political and social ideas. This is very evident in the case of the French neo-Ultramontanes. At that time Europe was under the shadow of the revolutionary waves of the middle of the century, and in most countries a strong anti-clerical, anti-religious, spirit was abroad, influencing governments and legislation. Now, the antagonisms have in great measure died down; and sixty years' experience of the modern democracies has shown that the Catholic Church can work freely and thrive in most of the modern States, and perhaps best in the most really democratic of them. Thus if these questions of Church and State ever come on at a future General Council, the danger, so greatly feared by many of the bishops and by Catholic statesmen, of a fundamental antagonism between the Church and the modern State, is little likely to arise.

The reader of this history who is not of the Communion of the Holy See, will perhaps ask the question, Was the Vatican Council worth while? Were its results commensurate with the storms it raised, the controversies, struggles, strains, disgusts, distresses it caused at the time, not only among hostile forces without, but also in so many loyal minds and hearts within? And all to set up a fresh barrier in the way of a United Christendom! Was this a necessary or a wise act, calculated to further the Kingdom of God on Earth?

To this, the most ingoing question in regard to the Council, a sure answer may be given. The

defining of the position of the Pope as successor and heir of St. Peter, according to the mind of the Catholic Church, and the setting forth in unmistakable terms the implications of his primacy and infallible teaching authority, was surely a right act: in that it shuts out the possibility of anyone seeking union with the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church—be it separated Eastern Orthodox Churches, or be it Christian religious Bodies in the West, or individuals—doing so under misapprehension of what is involved. It would have been deplorable that such unions should be brought about under misunderstandings to be realized too late, with disillusionment and sense of unfair treatment, in that the full truth of the situation had not been disclosed. For, for centuries before the Vatican Council the dogmas it defined on the Papacy had been growing more and more predominant in Catholic schools of Western Christendom, so that anyone coming into the Church would have found himself practically bound to accept them as almost certain theological opinions, liable and likely to be defined. Better far have it clearly defined once for all, so that the realities may be known and faced, and hopes and dreams be not encouraged that the Catholic Church might disavow her past by repudiating a body of teaching that has been hers through the ages.

And so the Catholic Church was honest at the Vatican Council in laying down her lines unequivocally in regard to the Papacy, as she was honest at Trent in laying down her lines in regard to the challenge of the Reformers, thus making clear to all the conditions of communion with her.

So much for those outside; for the Catholic Church herself it will not be questioned by her children that the Vatican decrees have been justified by the results. The ending of the controversies started at Constance has in effect closed up the ranks of Catholics

and rallied them with united loyalty and enthusiasm round the Chair of Peter as never before. Not even an Innocent III at the height of his temporal sway over Christendom wielded an authority so wide-cast, undisputed, beneficent, as do the Popes since the Vatican Council: an authority all the more powerful, an influence all the more far-reaching, in that it is only spiritual and religious, based on the sanctions of religion alone.

And so the Vatican Council takes its stand alongside of Trent as a great landmark of the life of the Church.

APPENDIX

THE TWO DOGMATIC CONSTITUTIONS LATIN AND ENGLISH

Dei Filius, April 24 (Mansi III (51), 429; *Lac* 248)

Pastor Aeternus, July 18 (Mansi IV (52), 1330; *Lac* 482)

The translation is, with retouches, that in Archbishop Manning's Letter of October, 1870, *The Vatican Council*. The Latin text was set up from the same volume. Not until the two Constitutions were in type was it seen that there are typographical differences in the method of printing the Latin of the two Constitutions, so frequent that it was impracticable to reduce them to uniformity. The method of printing in the second Constitution is that of the original Acta.

CONSTITUTIO DOGMATICA DE FIDE CATHOLICA

PIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, SACRO APPROBANTE CONCILIO AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Dei Filius et generis humani Redemptor Dominus noster Jesus Christus, ad Patrem cœlestem rediturus, cum Ecclesiâ suâ in terris militante omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi futurum se esse promisit. Quare dilectæ Sponsæ præsto esse, adsistere docenti, operanti benedicere, periclitanti opem ferre nullo unquam tempore destitit. Hæc vero salutaris ejus providentia, cum ex aliis beneficiis innumeris continenter apparuit, tum iis manifestissime comperta est fructibus, qui orbi christiano e Conciliis œcumenicis ac nominatim e Tridentino, iniquis licet temporibus celebrato, amplissimi provenerunt. Hinc enim sanctissima religionis dogmata pressius definita, uberiusque exposita, errores damnati atque cohibiti; hinc ecclesiastica disciplina restituta firmiusque sancita, promotum in Clero scientiæ et pietatis studium, parata adolescentibus ad sacram militiam educandis collegia, christiani denique populi mores et accuratiore fidelium eruditione et frequentiore sacramentorum usu instaurati. Hinc præterea arctior membrorum cum visibili capite communio, universoque corpori Christi mystico additus vigor; hinc religiosæ multiplicatæ familiæ, aliaque christianæ pietatis instituta, hinc ille etiam assiduus et usque ad sanguinis effusionem constans ardor in Christi regno late per orbem propagando.

DOGMATIC CONSTITUTION ON THE CATHOLIC FAITH

PIUS, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE SACRED COUNCIL, FOR PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE

Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and Redeemer of Mankind, before returning to His heavenly Father, promised that He would be with His Church Militant on earth all days, even to the consummation of the world. Therefore, He has never ceased to be present with His beloved Spouse, to assist her when teaching, to bless her when at work, and to aid her when in danger. And this His salutary providence, which has been constantly displayed by other innumerable benefits, has been most manifestly proved by the abundant good results which Christendom has derived from Œcumenical Councils, and particularly from that of Trent, although it was held in evil times. For, as a consequence, the sacred dogmas of religion have been defined more closely and set forth more fully, errors have been condemned and restrained, ecclesiastical discipline has been restored and more firmly secured, the love of learning and of piety has been promoted among the clergy, colleges have been established to educate youth for the sacred warfare, and the morals of the Christian world have been renewed by the more accurate training of the faithful, and by the more frequent use of the sacraments. Moreover, there has resulted a closer communion of the members with the visible Head, an increase of vigour in the whole mystical body of Christ, the multiplication of religious congregations and of other institutions of Christian piety, and such ardour in extending the kingdom of Christ throughout the world as constantly endures, even to the sacrifice of life itself.

Verumtamen hæc aliaque insignia emolumenta, quæ per ultimam maxime œcumenicam Synodum divinâ clementiâ Ecclesiæ largita est, dum grato, quo par est, animo recolimus, acerbum compescere haud possumus dolorem ob mala gravissima, inde potissimum orta, quod ejusdem sacrosanctæ Synodi apud permultos vel auctoritas contempta, vel sapientissima neglecta fuere decreta.

Nemo enim ignorat, hæreses, quas Tridentini Patres proscripserunt, dum, rejecto divino Ecclesiæ magisterio, res ad religionem spectantes privati cujusvis judicio permitterentur, in sectas paulatim dissolutas esse multiplices, quibus inter se dissentientibus et concertantibus, omnis tandem in Christum fides apud non paucos labefactata est. Itaque ipsa sacra Biblia, quæ antea christianæ doctrinæ unicus fons et judex asserebantur, jam non pro divinis haberi, imo mythicis commentis accenseri cœperunt.

Tum nata est et late nimis per orbem vagata illa rationalismi seu naturalismi doctrina, quæ religioni christianæ, utpote supernaturali instituto, per omnia adversans, summo studio molitur, ut Christo, qui solus Dominus et Salvator noster est, a mentibus humanis, a vitâ et moribus populorum excluso, meræ quod vocant rationis vel naturæ regnum stabiliatur. Relictâ autem projectâque christianâ religione, negato vero Deo et Christo ejus, prolapsa tandem est multorum mens in pantheismi, materialismi, atheismi barathrum, ut jam ipsam rationalem naturam, omnemque justi rectique normam negantes, ima humanæ societatis fundamenta diruere connitantur.

Hâc porro impietate circumquaque grassante, infeliciter contigit, ut plures etiam e catholicæ Ecclesiæ filiis a viâ veræ pietatis aberrarent, in iisque, diminutis paullatim veritatibus, sensus catholicus attenuaretur. Variis enim ac peregrinis doctrinis abducti, naturam et gratiam, scientiam humanam et fidem divinam perperam commiscentes, genuinum sensum dogmatum, quem tenet ac docet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, depravare, integritatemque et sinceritatem fidei in periculum adducere comperiuntur.

But while we recall with due thankfulness these and other signal benefits which the divine mercy has bestowed on the Church, especially by the last Œcumenical Council, we cannot restrain our bitter sorrow for the grave evils, which are principally due to the fact that the authority of that sacred Synod has been contemned, or its wise decrees neglected, by many.

No one is ignorant that the heresies proscribed by the Fathers of Trent, by which the divine magisterium of the Church was rejected, and all matters regarding religion were surrendered to the judgement of each individual, gradually became dissolved into many sects, which disagreed and contended with one another, until at length not a few lost all faith in Christ. Even the Holy Scriptures, which had previously been declared the sole source and judge of Christian doctrine, began to be held no longer as divine, but to be ranked among the fictions of mythology.

Then there arose, and too widely overspread the world, that doctrine of rationalism, or naturalism, which opposes itself in every way to the Christian religion as a supernatural institution, and works with the utmost zeal in order that, after Christ, our sole Lord and Saviour, has been excluded from the minds of men, and from the life and moral acts of nations, the reign of what they call pure reason or nature may be established. And after forsaking and rejecting the Christian religion, and denying the true God and His Christ, the minds of many have sunk into the abyss of Pantheism, Materialism, and Atheism, until, denying rational nature itself and every sound rule of right, they labour to destroy the deepest foundations of human society.

Unhappily, it has yet further come to pass that, while this impiety prevailed on every side, many even of the children of the Catholic Church have strayed from the path of true piety, and by the gradual diminution of the truths they held, the Catholic sense became weakened in them. For, led away by various and strange doctrines, utterly confusing nature and grace, human science and divine faith, they are found to deprave the true sense of the dogmas which our Holy Mother Church holds and teaches, and endanger the integrity and the soundness of the faith.

Quibus omnibus perspectis, fieri quî potest, ut non commoveantur intima Ecclesiæ viscera? Quemadmodum enim Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire; quemadmodum Christus venit, ut salvum faceret, quod perierat, et filios Dei, qui erant dispersi, congregaret in unum: ita Ecclesia, a Deo populorum mater et magistra constituta, omnibus debitricem se novit, ac lapsos erigere, labantes sustinere, revertentes amplecti, confirmare bonos et ad meliora provehere parata semper et intenta est. Quapropter nullo tempore a Dei veritate, quæ sanat omnia, testandâ et prædicandâ quiescere potest, sibi dictum esse non ignorans: Spiritus meus, qui est in te, et verba mea, quæ posui in ore tuo, non recedent de ore tuo amodo et usque in sempiternum.[1]

Nos itaque, inhærentes Prædecessorum Nostrorum vestigiis, pro supremo Nostro Apostolico munere veritatem catholicam docere ac tueri, perversasque doctrinas reprobare nunquam intermisimus. Nunc autem sedentibus Nobiscum et judicantibus universi orbis Episcopis, in hanc œcumenicam Synodum auctoritate Nostrâ in Spiritu Sancto congregatis, innixi Dei verbo scripto et tradito, prout ab Ecclesiâ catholicâ sancte custoditum et genuine expositum accepimus, ex hâc Petri Cathedrâ in conspectu omnium salutarem Christi doctrinam profiteri et declarare constituimus, adversis erroribus potestate Nobis a Deo traditâ proscriptis atque damnatis.

CAPUT I

DE DEO RERUM OMNIUM CREATORE

Sancta Catholica Apostolica Romana Ecclesia credit et confitetur, unum esse Deum verum et vivum, Creatorem ac Dominum cœli et terræ, omnipotentem, æternum, immensum, incomprehensibilem, intellectu ac voluntate omnique perfectione infinitum; qui cum sit una singularis, simplex omnino et incommutabilis substantia spiritualis, prædi-

[1] Isai. lix. 21.

Considering these things, how can the Church fail to be deeply stirred? For, even as God wills all men to be saved, and to arrive at the knowledge of the truth; even as Christ came to save what had perished, and to gather together in one the children of God who had been dispersed: so the Church, constituted by God the mother and teacher of the peoples, knows its own office as debtor to all, and is ever ready and watchful to raise the fallen, to support those who are falling, to embrace those who return, to confirm the good and to carry them on to better things. Hence, it can never forbear from witnessing to and proclaiming the truth of God, which heals all things, knowing the words addressed to it: 'My Spirit that is in thee, and my words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth from henceforth and for ever' (Isaias lix. 21).

We, therefore, following the footsteps of our Predecessors, have never ceased, as becomes our supreme Apostolic office, from teaching and defending Catholic truth, and condemning doctrines of error. And now, with the Bishops of the whole world sitting with us and judging with us, congregated by our authority in the Holy Spirit, in this Œcumenical Council, resting on the Word of God written and handed down, as We have received it inviolably preserved and truly expounded by the Catholic Church, We have determined to profess and declare the salutary teaching of Christ from this Chair of Peter and in sight of all, proscribing and condemning, by the power given to us of God, all errors contrary thereto.

CHAPTER I

OF GOD THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS

The Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church believes and confesses that there is one true and living God, Creator and Lord of heaven and earth, Almighty, Eternal, Immense, Incomprehensible, Infinite in intellect, in will, and in all perfection; who, as being one, sole, absolutely simple and immutable spiritual substance, is to be declared as really and

candus est re et essentiâ a mundo distinctus, in se et ex se beatissimus, et super omnia, quæ præter ipsum sunt et concipi possunt, ineffabiliter excelsus.

Hic solus verus Deus bonitate suâ et omnipotenti virtute non ad augendam suam beatitudinem, nec ad acquirendam, sed ad manifestandam perfectionem suam per bona, quæ creaturis impertitur, liberrimo consilio simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam, ac deinde humanam quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam.[1]

Universa vero, quæ condidit, Deus providentiâ suâ tuetur atque gubernat, attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponens omnia suaviter.[2] Omnia enim nuda et aperta sunt oculis ejus,[3] ea etiam, quæ liberâ creaturarum actione futura sunt.

CAPUT II

DE REVELATIONE

Eadem sancta Mater Ecclesia tenet et docet, Deum, rerum omnium principium et finem, naturali humanæ rationis lumine e rebus creatis certo cognosci posse; invisibilia enim ipsius, a creaturâ mundi, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta, conspiciuntur:[4] attamen placuisse ejus sapientiæ et bonitati, aliâ, eâque supernaturali viâ, se ipsum ac æterna voluntatis suæ decreta humano generi revelare, dicente Apostolo: Multifariam, multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in Prophetis: novissime, diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio.[5]

Huic divinæ revelationi tribuendum quidem est, ut ea, quæ in rebus divinis humanæ rationi per se impervia non sunt, in præsenti quoque generis humani conditione ab omnibus expedite, firmâ certitudine et nullo admixto errore cognosci possint. Non hâc tamen de causâ revelatio ab-

[1] Concil. Lateran. IV, cap. i, De fide Catholica.
[2] Sap. viii. 1.
[3] Cf. Heb. iv. 13.
[4] Rom. i. 20.
[5] Heb. i. 1, 2.

essentially distinct from the world, of supreme beatitude in and from Himself, and ineffably exalted above all things which exist, or are conceivable, except Himself.

This one only true God, of His own goodness and almighty power, not for the increase or acquirement of His own happiness, but to manifest His perfection by the blessings which He bestows on creatures, and with absolute freedom of counsel, created out of nothing, from the very first beginning of time, both the spiritual and the corporeal creature, to wit, the angelical and the mundane, and afterwards the human creature, as partaking, in a sense, of both, consisting of spirit and of body.

God protects and governs by His Providence all things which He hath made, 'reaching from end to end mightily, and ordering all things sweetly' (Wisdom viii. 1). For 'all things are bare and open to His eyes' (Heb. iv. 13), even those which are yet to be by the free action of creatures.

CHAPTER II

OF REVELATION

The same Holy Mother Church holds and teaches that God, the beginning and end of all things, may be certainly known by the natural light of human reason, by means of created things, 'for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made' (Rom. i. 20); but that it pleased His wisdom and bounty to reveal Himself and the eternal decrees of His will, to mankind by another and a supernatural way: as the Apostle says, 'God, having spoken on divers occasions, and many ways, in times past, to the fathers by the prophets; last of all, in these days, hath spoken to us by His Son' (Heb. i. 1, 2).

It is to be ascribed to this divine revelation, that such truths among things divine as of themselves are not beyond human reason, can, even in the present condition of mankind, be known by every one with facility, with firm assurance, and with no admixture of error. This, however, is not the reason why revelation is to be called absolutely

solute necessaria dicenda est, sed quia Deus ex infinitâ bonitate suâ ordinavit hominem ad finem supernaturalem, ad participanda scilicet bona divina, quæ humanæ mentis intelligentiam omnino superant; siquidem oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quæ præparavit Deus iis, qui diligunt illum.[1]

Hæc porro supernaturalis revelatio, secundum universalis Ecclesiæ fidem, a sanctâ Tridentinâ Synodo declaratam, continetur in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis Apostolis Spiritu Sancto dictante quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt.[2] Qui quidem veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ejusdem Concilii decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgatâ latinâ editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod solâ humanâ industriâ concinnati, suâ deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiæ traditi sunt.

Quoniam verò, quæ sancta Tridentina Synodus de interpretatione divinæ Scripturæ ad coercenda petulantia ingenia salubriter decrevit, a quibusdam hominibus pravè exponuntur, Nos, idem decretum renovantes, hanc illius mentem esse declaramus, ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium, is pro vero sensu sacræ Scripturæ habendus sit, quem tenuit ac tenet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum, aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari.

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 9.
[2] Concil. Trid. Sess. IV, de Can. Script.

necessary; but because God of His infinite goodness has ordained man to a supernatural end, viz. to be a sharer of divine blessings which utterly exceed the intelligence of the human mind: for 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him' (1 Cor. ii. 9).

Further, this supernatural revelation, according to the universal belief of the Church, declared by the Sacred Synod of Trent, is contained in the written books and unwritten traditions which have come down to us, having been received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the Apostles themselves, by the dictation of the Holy Spirit, have been transmitted, as it were, from hand to hand.[1] And these books of the Old and New Testament are to be received as sacred and canonical, in their integrity, with all their parts, as they are enumerated in the decree of the said Council, and are contained in the ancient Latin edition of the Vulgate. These the Church holds to be sacred and canonical, not because, having been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain revelation, with no admixture of error, but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself.

And as the things which the Holy Synod of Trent decreed for the good of souls concerning the interpretation of Divine Scripture, in order to curb rebellious spirits, have been wrongly explained by some, We, renewing the said decree, declare this to be its sense: that, in matters of faith and morals, appertaining to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be held as the true sense of Holy Scripture which our Holy Mother Church hath held and holds, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scripture; and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret the Sacred Scripture contrary to this sense, nor, likewise, contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

[1] Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, Session the Fourth. Decree concerning the Canonical Scriptures.

CAPUT III

DE FIDE

Quum homo a Deo tanquam Creatore et Domino suo totus dependeat, et ratio creata increatæ Veritati penitus subjecta sit, plenum revelanti Deo intellectûs et voluntatis obsequium fide præstare tenemur. Hanc vero fidem, quæ humanæ salutis initium est, Ecclesia catholica profitetur, virtutem esse supernaturalem, quâ, Dei aspirante et adjuvante gratiâ, ab eo revelata vera esse credimus, non propter intrinsecam rerum veritatem naturali rationis lumine perspectam, sed propter auctoritatem ipsius Dei revelantis, qui nec falli nec fallere potest. Est enim fides, testante Apostolo, sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium.[1]

Ut nihilominus fidei nostræ obsequium rationi consentaneum esset, voluit Deus cum internis Spiritûs Sancti auxiliis externa jungi revelationis suæ argumenta, facta scilicet divina, atque imprimis miracula et prophetias, quæ cum Dei omnipotentiam et infinitam scientiam luculenter commonstrent, divinæ revelationis signa sunt certissima et omnium intelligentiæ accommodata. Quare tum Moyses et Prophetæ, tum ipse maxime Christus Dominus multa et manifestissima miracula et prophetias ediderunt, et de Apostolis legimus: Illi autem profecti prædicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis.[2] Et rursum scriptum est: Habemus firmiorem propheticum sermonem, cui bene facitis attendentes quasi lucernæ lucenti in caliginoso loco.[3]

Licet autem fidei assensus nequaquam sit motus animi cæcus: nemo tamen evangelicæ prædicationi consentire potest, sicut oportet ad salutem consequendam, absque illuminatione et inspiratione Spiritûs Sancti, qui dat omnibus

[1] Heb. xi. 1. [2] Marc. xvi. 20.
[3] 2 Petr. i. 19.

CHAPTER III

ON FAITH

Man being wholly dependent upon God, as upon his Creator and Lord, and created reason being absolutely subject to uncreated truth, we are bound to yield to God, by faith in His revelation, the full obedience of our intellect and will. And the Catholic Church teaches that this faith, which is the beginning of man's salvation, is a supernatural virtue, whereby, inspired and assisted by the grace of God, we believe that the things which He has revealed are true; not because of the intrinsic truth of the things, viewed by the natural light of reason, but because of the authority of God Himself who reveals them, and who can neither be deceived nor deceive. For faith, as the Apostle testifies, is 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things that appear not' (Heb. xi. 1).

Nevertheless, in order that the obedience of our faith might be in harmony with reason, God willed that to the interior helps of the Holy Spirit, there should be joined exterior proofs of His revelation; to wit, divine facts, and especially miracles and prophecies, which, as they manifestly display the omnipotence and infinite knowledge of God, are most certain proofs of His divine revelation, adapted to the intelligence of all men. Wherefore, both Moses and the Prophets, and most especially, Christ our Lord Himself, showed forth many and most evident miracles and prophecies; and of the Apostles we read: 'But they going forth preached everywhere, the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed' (Mark xvi. 20). And again, it is written: 'We have the more firm prophetical word, whereunto you do well to attend, as to a light shining in a dark place' (2 Peter i. 19).

But though the assent of faith is by no means a blind action of the mind, still no man can assent to the Gospel teaching, as is necessary to obtain salvation, without the illumination and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who gives to all men sweetness in assenting to and believing in the

suavitatem in consentiendo et credendo veritati.[1] Quare fides ipsa in se, etiamsi per charitatem non operetur, donum Dei est, et actus ejus est opus ad salutem pertinens, quo homo liberam præstat ipsi Deo obedientiam, gratiæ ejus, cui resistere posset, consentiendo et cooperando.

Porro fide divinâ et catholicâ ea omnia credenda sunt, quæ in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur, et ab Ecclesiâ sive solemni judicio sive ordinario et universali magisterio tamquam divinitus revelata credenda proponuntur.

Quoniam vero sine fide impossibile est placere Deo, et ad filiorum ejus consortium pervenire ; ideo nemini unquam sine illâ contigit justificatio, nec ullus, nisi in eâ perseveraverit usque in finem, vitam æternam assequetur. Ut autem officio veram fidem amplectendi, in eâque constanter perseverandi satisfacere possemus, Deus per Filium suum unigenitum Ecclesiam instituit, suæque institutionis manifestis notis instruxit, ut ea tamquam custos et magistra verbi revelati ab omnibus posset agnosci. Ad solam enim catholicam Ecclesiam ea pertinent omnia, quæ ad evidentem fidei christianæ credibilitatem tam multa et tam mira divinitus sunt disposita. Quin etiam Ecclesia per se ipsa, ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sanctitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus bonis fœcunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem, magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinæ suæ legationis testimonium irrefragabile.

Quo fit, ut ipsa veluti signum levatum in nationes,[2] et ad se invitet, qui nondum crediderunt, et filios suos certiores faciat, firmissimo niti fundamento fidem, quam profitentur. Cui quidem testimonio efficax subsidium accedit ex supernâ virtute. Etenim benignissimus Dominus et errantes gratiâ suâ excitat atque adjuvat, ut ad agnitionem veritatis venire

[1] Syn. Araus. ii. can. 7.
[2] Isai. xi. 12.

truth.[1] Wherefore, faith itself, even when it does not work by charity, is in itself a gift of God, and the act of faith is a work appertaining to salvation, by which man yields voluntary obedience to God Himself, by assenting to and co-operating with His grace, which he is able to resist.

Further, all those things are to be believed with divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the word of God, written or handed down, and which the Church, either by a solemn judgement, or by her ordinary and universal magisterium, proposes for belief as having been divinely revealed.

And since without faith it is impossible to please God, and to attain to the fellowship of His children, therefore without faith no one has ever attained justification, nor will any one obtain eternal life, unless he shall have persevered in faith unto the end. And, that we may be able to satisfy the obligation of embracing the true faith and of constantly persevering in it, God has instituted the Church through His only begotten Son, and has bestowed on it manifest notes of that institution, that it may be recognized by all men as the guardian and teacher of the revealed Word; for to the Catholic Church alone belong all those many and admirable tokens which have been divinely established for the evident credibility of the Christian Faith. Nay more, the Church by itself, with its marvellous extension, its eminent holiness, and its inexhaustible fruitfulness in every good thing, with its Catholic unity and its invincible stability, is a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an irrefutable witness of its own divine mission.

And thus, like a standard set up unto the nations (Isaias xi. 12), it both invites to itself those who do not yet believe, and assures its children that the faith which they profess rests on the most firm foundation. And its testimony is efficaciously supported by a power from on high. For our most merciful Lord gives His grace to stir up and to aid those who are astray, that they may come to a knowledge

[1] Canons of the Second Council of Orange, confirmed by Pope Boniface II, A.D. 529, against the Semipelagians, can. vii. See Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*.

possint; et eos, quos de tenebris transtulit in admirabile lumen suum, in hoc eodem lumine ut perseverent, gratiâ suâ confirmat, non deserens, nisi deseratur. Quocirca minime par est conditio eorum, qui per cœleste fidei donum catholicæ veritati adhæserunt, atque eorum, qui ducti opinionibus humanis, falsam religionem sectantur; illi enim, qui fidem sub Ecclesiæ magisterio susceperunt, nullam unquam habere possunt justam causam mutandi, aut in dubium fidem eamdem revocandi. Quæ cum ita sint, gratias agentes Deo Patri, qui dignos nos fecit in partem sortis sanctorum in lumine, tantam ne negligamus salutem, sed aspicientes in auctorem fidei et consummatorem Jesum, teneamus spei nostræ confessionem indeclinabilem.

CAPUT IV

DE FIDE ET RATIONE

Hoc quoque perpetuus Ecclesiæ catholicæ consensus tenuit et tenet, duplicem esse ordinem cognitionis, non solum principio, sed objecto etiam distinctum: principio quidem, quia in altero naturali ratione, in altero fide divinâ cognoscimus; objecto autem, quia præter ea, ad quæ naturalis ratio pertingere potest, credenda nobis proponuntur mysteria in Deo abscondita, quæ, nisi revelata divinitus, innotescere non possunt. Quocirca Apostolus, qui a gentibus Deum per ea, quæ facta sunt, cognitum esse testatur, disserens tamen de gratiâ et veritate, quæ per Jesum Christum facta est,[1] pronuntiat: Loquimur Dei sapientiam in mysterio, quæ abscondita est, quam prædestinavit Deus ante sæcula in gloriam nostram, quam nemo principum hujus sæculi cognovit. Nobis autem revelavit Deus per Spiritum suum: Spiritus enim omnia scrutatur, etiam profunda Dei.[2] Et ipse Unigenitus confitetur Patri, quia

[1] Joan. i. 17. [2] 1 Cor. ii. 7-10.

of the truth; and to those whom He has brought out of darkness into His own admirable light He gives His grace to strengthen them to persevere in that light, deserting none who desert not Him. Therefore there is no parity between the condition of those who have adhered to the Catholic truth by the heavenly gift of faith, and of those who, led by human opinions, follow a false religion; for those who have received the faith under the magisterium of the Church can never have any just cause for changing or doubting that faith. Therefore, giving thanks to God the Father who has made us worthy to be partakers of the lot of the Saints in light, let us not neglect so great salvation, but with our eyes fixed on Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, let us hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering. (Heb. xii. 2, and x. 23.)

CHAPTER IV

OF FAITH AND REASON

The Catholic Church, with one consent has also ever held and does hold that there is a twofold order of knowledge, distinct both in principle and also in object: in principle, because our knowledge in the one is by natural reason, and in the other by divine faith; in object, because, besides those things to which natural reason can attain, there are proposed to our belief mysteries hidden in God, which, unless divinely revealed, cannot be known. Wherefore the Apostle, who testifies that God is known by the gentiles through created things, still, when discoursing of the grace and truth which come by Jesus Christ (John i. 17) says: 'We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom which is hidden, which God ordained before the world unto our glory; which none of the princes of this world knew . . . but to us God hath revealed them by His Spirit. For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God' (1 Cor. ii. 7-10). And the only-begotten Son Himself gives thanks to the Father, because He has hid these things from

abscondit hæc a sapientibus, et prudentibus, et revelavit ea parvulis.[1]

Ac ratio quidem, fide illustrata, cum sedulò, piè et sobriè quærit, aliquam, Deo dante, mysteriorum intelligentiam eamque fructuosissimam assequitur, tum ex eorum, quæ naturaliter cognoscit, analogiâ, tum e mysteriorum ipsorum nexu inter se et cum fine hominis ultimo ; numquam tamen idonea redditur ad ea perspicienda instar veritatum, quæ proprium ipsius objectum constituunt. Divina enim mysteria suâpte naturâ intellectum creatum sic excedunt, ut etiam revelatione tradita et fide suscepta, ipsius tamen fidei velamine contecta et quâdam quasi caligine obvoluta maneant, quamdiu in hâc mortali vitâ peregrinamur a Domino : per fidem enim ambulamus, et non per speciem.[2]

Verum etsi fides sit supra rationem, nulla tamen unquam inter fidem et rationem vera dissensio esse potest ; cum idem Deus, qui mysteria revelat et fidem infundit, animo humano rationis lumen indiderit ; Deus autem negare seipsum non possit, nec verum vero unquam contradicere. Inanis autem hujus contradictionis species inde potissimum oritur, quod vel fidei dogmata ad mentem Ecclesiæ intellecta et exposita non fuerint, vel opinionum commenta pro rationis effatis habeantur. Omnem igitur assertionem veritati illuminatæ fidei contrariam omnino falsam esse definimus.[3] Porro Ecclesia, quæ una cum apostolico munere docendi, mandatum accepit, fidei depositum custodiendi, jus etiam et officium divinitus habet falsi nominis scientiam proscribendi, ne quis decipiatur per philosophiam, et inanem fallaciam.[4] Quapropter omnes christiani fideles hujusmodi opiniones, quæ fidei doctrinæ contrariæ esse cognoscuntur, maxime si ab Ecclesiâ reprobatæ fuerint, non solum prohibentur tanquam legitimas scientiæ conclusiones defendere, sed pro erroribus potius, qui fallacem veritatis speciem præ se ferant, habere tenentur omnino.

[1] Matth. xi. 25.
[2] 2 Cor. v. 7.
[3] Concil. Lateran. V, Bulla *Apostolici regiminis*.
[4] Coloss. ii. 8.

the wise and prudent, and has revealed them to little ones (Matt. xi. 25).

Reason, indeed, enlightened by faith, when it seeks earnestly, piously, and calmly, attains by a gift from God some, and that a very fruitful, understanding of mysteries; partly from the analogy of those things which it naturally knows, partly from the relations which the mysteries bear to one another and to the last end of man: but reason never becomes capable of apprehending mysteries as it does those truths which constitute its proper object. For the divine mysteries by their own nature so far transcend the created intelligence that, even when delivered by revelation and received by faith, they remain covered with the veil of faith itself, and shrouded in a certain degree of darkness, so long as we are pilgrims in this mortal life, not yet with God; 'for we walk by faith and not by sight' (2 Cor. v. 7).

But although faith is above reason, there can never be any real discrepancy between faith and reason, since the same God who reveals mysteries and infuses faith has bestowed the light of reason on the human mind, and God cannot deny Himself, nor can truth ever contradict truth. The false appearance of such a contradiction is mainly due, either to the dogmas of faith not having been understood and expounded according to the mind of the Church, or to the inventions of opinion having been taken for the verdicts of reason. We define, therefore, that every assertion contrary to a truth of enlightened faith is utterly false.[1] Further, the Church, which, together with the Apostolic office of teaching, has received a charge to guard the deposit of faith, derives from God the right and the duty of proscribing false science, lest any should be deceived by philosophy and vain fallacy (Coloss. ii. 8). Therefore all faithful Christians are not only forbidden to defend, as legitimate conclusions of science, such opinions as are known to be contrary to the doctrines of faith, especially if they have been condemned by the Church, but are altogether bound to account them as errors which put on the fallacious appearance of truth.

[1] From the Bull of Pope Leo X, *Apostolici regiminis*, read in the VIII Session of the Fifth Lateran Council, A.D. 1513. See Labbé's *Councils*, vol. xix, p. 842, Venice 1732.

Neque solum fides et ratio inter se dissidere nunquam possunt, sed opem quoque sibi mutuam ferunt, cum recta ratio fidei fundamenta demonstret, ejusque lumine illustrata rerum divinarum scientiam excolat; fides vero rationem ab erroribus liberet ac tueatur, eamque multiplici cognitione instruat. Quapropter tantum abest, ut Ecclesia humanarum artium et disciplinarum culturæ obsistat, ut hanc multis modis juvet atque promoveat. Non enim commoda ab iis ad hominum vitam dimanantia aut ignorat aut despicit; fatetur imo, eas, quemadmodum a Deo, scientiarum Domino, profectæ sunt, ita si rite pertractentur, ad Deum, juvante ejus gratiâ, perducere. Nec sane ipsa vetat, ne hujusmodi disciplinæ in suo quæque ambitu propriis utantur principiis et propriâ methodo; sed justam hanc libertatem agnoscens, id sedulo cavet, ne divinæ doctrinæ repugnando errores in se suscipiant, aut fines proprios trangressæ, ea, quæ sunt fidei, occupent et perturbent.

Neque enim fidei doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniis perficienda, sed tanquam divinum depositum Christi Sponsæ tradita, fideliter custodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quoque dogmatum is sensus perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu, altioris intelligentiæ specie et nomine, recedendum. Crescat igitur et multum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum, quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam totius Ecclesiæ, ætatum ac sæculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia: sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu, eâdemque sententiâ.[1]

[1] Vincent. Lirin. *Common.* n. 28.

And not only can faith and reason never be opposed to one another, but they are of mutual aid one to the other; for right reason demonstrates the foundations of faith, and, enlightened by its light, cultivates the science of things divine; while faith frees and guards reason from errors, and furnishes it with manifold knowledge. So far, therefore, is the Church from opposing the cultivation of human arts and sciences, that it in many ways helps and promotes it. For the Church neither ignores nor despises the benefits to human life which result from the arts and sciences, but confesses that, as they came from God, the Lord of all science, so, if they be rightly used, they lead to God by the help of His grace. Nor does the Church forbid that each of these sciences in its sphere should make use of its own principles and its own method; but, while recognizing this just liberty, it stands watchfully on guard, lest sciences, setting themselves against the divine teaching, or transgressing their own limits, should invade and disturb the domain of faith.

For the doctrine of faith which God hath revealed has not been proposed, like a philosophical invention, to be perfected by human intelligence, but has been delivered as a divine deposit to the Spouse of Christ, to be faithfully kept and infallibly declared. Hence also, that meaning of the sacred dogmas is perpetually to be retained which our Holy Mother the Church has once declared; nor is that meaning ever to be departed from, under the pretence or pretext of a deeper comprehension of them. Let, then, the intelligence, science, and wisdom of each and all, of individuals and of the whole Church, in all ages and all times, increase and flourish in abundance and vigour; but only in its own proper kind, that is to say, in one and the same doctrine, one and the same sense, one and the same judgement (Vincent. of Lerins, *Common.* n. 28).

CANONES

I

De Deo rerum omnium Creatore

1. Si quis unum verum Deum visibilium et invisibilium Creatorem et Dominum negaverit; anathema sit.

2. Si quis præter materiam nihil esse affirmare non erubuerit; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, unam eamdemque esse Dei et rerum omnium substantiam vel essentiam; anathema sit.

4. Si quis dixerit, res finitas, tum corporeas tum spirituales, aut saltem spirituales, e divinâ substantiâ emanasse;

aut divinam essentiam sui manifestatione vel evolutione fieri omnia;

aut denique Deum esse ens universale seu indefinitum, quod sese determinando constituat rerum universitatem in genera, species et individua distinctam; anathema sit.

5. Si quis non confiteatur, mundum, resque omnes, quæ in eo continentur, et spirituales et materiales, secundum totam suam substantiam a Deo ex nihilo esse productas;

aut Deum dixerit non voluntate ab omni necessitate liberâ, sed tam necessario creasse, quam necessario amat seipsum;

aut mundum ad Dei gloriam conditum esse negaverit; anathema sit.

II

De Revelatione

1. Si quis dixerit, Deum unum et verum, Creatorem et Dominum nostrum, per ea, quæ facta sunt, naturali rationis humanæ lumine certo cognosci non posse; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, fieri non posse, aut non expedire, ut

CANONS

I

Of God the Creator of all things

1. If any one shall deny One true God, Creator and Lord of things visible and invisible; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall not be ashamed to affirm that, except matter, nothing exists; let him be anathema.

3. If any one shall say that the substance and essence of God and of all things is one and the same; let him be anathema.

4. If any one shall say that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, or at least spiritual, have emanated from the divine substance; or that the divine essence by the manifestation and evolution of itself becomes all things; or, lastly, that God is universal or indefinite being, which by determining itself constitutes the universality of things, distinct according to genera, species and individuals; let him be anathema.

5. If any one confess not that the world, and all things which are contained in it, both spiritual and material, have been, in their whole substance, produced by God out of nothing; or shall say that God created, not by His will, free from all necessity, but by a necessity equal to the necessity whereby He loves Himself; or shall deny that the world was made for the glory of God; let him be anathema.

II

Of Revelation

1. If any one shall say that the One true God, our Creator and Lord, cannot be certainly known by the natural light of human reason through created things; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall say that it is impossible or inexpedient that man should be taught, by divine revelation,

per revelationem divinam homo de Deo, cultuque ei exhibendo edoceatur; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, hominem ad cognitionem et perfectionem, quæ naturalem superet, divinitus evehi non posse, sed ex seipso ad omnis tandem veri et boni possessionem jugi profectu pertingere posse et debere; anathema sit.

4. Si quis sacræ Scripturæ libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit; anathema sit.

III

De Fide

1. Si quis dixerit, rationem humanam ita independentem esse, ut fides ei a Deo imperari non possit; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, fidem divinam a naturali de Deo et rebus moralibus scientiâ non distingui, ac propterea ad fidem divinam non requiri, ut revelata veritas propter auctoritatem Dei revelantis credatur; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, revelationem divinam externis signis credibilem fieri non posse, ideoque solâ internâ cujusque experientiâ aut inspiratione privatâ homines ad fidem moveri debere; anathema sit.

4. Si quis dixerit, miracula nulla fieri posse, proindeque omnes de iis narrationes, etiam in sacrâ Scripturâ contentas, inter fabulas vel mythos ablegandas esse: aut miracula certo cognosci nunquam posse, nec iis divinam religionis christianæ originem ritè probari; anathema sit.

5. Si quis dixerit, assensum fidei christianæ non esse liberum, sed argumentis humanæ rationis necessario produci; aut ad solam fidem vivam, quæ per charitatem operatur, gratiam Dei necessariam esse; anathema sit.

concerning God and the worship to be paid to Him; let him be anathema.

3. If any one shall say that man cannot be raised by divine power to a higher than natural knowledge and perfection, but can and ought, by a continuous progress, to arrive at length, of himself, to the possession of all that is true and good; let him be anathema.

4. If any one shall not receive as sacred and canonical the Books of Holy Scripture, entire with all their parts, as the Holy Synod of Trent has enumerated them, or shall deny that they have been divinely inspired; let him be anathema.

III

Of Faith

1. If any one shall say that human reason is so independent that faith cannot be enjoined upon it by God; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall say that divine faith is not distinguished from natural knowledge of God and of moral truths, and therefore that it is not requisite for divine faith that revealed truth be believed because of the authority of God, who reveals it; let him be anathema.

3. If any one shall say that divine revelation cannot be made credible by outward signs, and therefore that men ought to be moved to faith solely by the internal experience of each, or by private inspiration; let him be anathema.

4. If any one shall say that miracles are impossible, and therefore that all the accounts regarding them, even those contained in Holy Scripture, are to be dismissed as fabulous or mythical; or that miracles can never be known with certainty, and that the divine origin of Christianity cannot be proved by them; let him be anathema.

5. If any one shall say that the assent of Christian faith is not a free act, but is inevitably produced by the arguments of human reason; or that the grace of God is necessary for that living faith only which worketh by charity; let him be anathema.

6. Si quis dixerit, parem esse conditionem fidelium atque eorum, qui ad fidem unice veram nondum pervenerunt, ita ut catholici justam causam habere possint, fidem, quam sub Ecclesiæ magisterio jam susceperunt, assensu suspenso in dubium vocandi, donec demonstrationem scientificam credibilitatis et veritatis fidei suæ absolverint; anathema sit.

IV

De Fide et Ratione

1. Si quis dixerit, in revelatione divinâ nulla vera et proprie dicta mysteria contineri, sed universa fidei dogmata posse per rationem rite excultam e naturalibus principiis intelligi et demonstrari; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, disciplinas humanas eâ cum libertate tractandas esse, ut earum assertiones, etsi doctrinæ revelatæ adversentur, tanquam veræ retineri, neque ab Ecclesiâ proscribi possint; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, fieri posse, ut dogmatibus ab Ecclesiâ propositis, aliquando secundum progressum scientiæ sensus tribuendus sit alius ab eo, quem intellexit et intelligit Ecclesia; anathema sit.

Itaque supremi pastoralis Nostri officii debitum exequentes, omnes Christi fideles, maxime vere eos, qui præsunt vel docendi munere funguntur, per viscera Jesu Christi obtestamur, nec non ejusdem Dei et Salvatoris nostri auctoritate jubemus, ut ad hos errores a Sanctâ Ecclesiâ arcendos et eliminandos, atque purissimæ fidei lucem pandendam studium et operam conferant.

6. If any one shall say that the condition of the faithful, and of those who have not yet attained to the only true faith, is on a par, so that Catholics may have just cause for doubting, with suspended assent, the faith which they have already received under the magisterium of the Church, until they shall have obtained a scientific demonstration of the credibility and truth of their faith; let him be anathema.

IV

Of Faith and Reason

1. If any one shall say that in divine revelation there are no mysteries, truly and properly so called, but that all the doctrines of faith can be understood and demonstrated from natural principles, by properly cultivated reason; let him be anathema.

2. If any one shall say that human sciences are to be so freely treated, that their assertions, even if opposed to revealed doctrine, may be held as true, and cannot be condemned by the Church; let him be anathema.

3. If any one shall assert it to be possible that sometimes' according to the progress of science, a sense is to be given to dogmas propounded by the Church different from that which the Church has understood and understands; let him be anathema.

Therefore, fulfilling the duty of our supreme pastoral office, We entreat, by the mercies of Jesus Christ, and, by the authority of the same God and our Saviour, We command all the faithful of Christ, and especially those who are set over others, or are charged with the office of instruction, that they earnestly and diligently apply themselves to ward off and eliminate these errors from Holy Church, and to spread the light of pure faith.

Quoniam vero satis non est, hæreticam pravitatem devitare, nisi ii quoque errores diligenter fugiantur, qui ad illam plus minusve accedunt; omnes officii monemus, servandi etiam Constitutiones et Decreta, quibus pravæ ejusmodi opiniones, quæ isthic diserte non enumerantur, ab hâc Sanctâ Sede proscriptæ et prohibitæ sunt.

Datum Romæ in publicâ Sessione in Vaticanâ Basilicâ solemniter celebratâ anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo octingentesimo septuagesimo, die vigesimâ quartâ Aprilis. Pontificatûs Nostri anno vigesimo quarto.

Ita est.

JOSEPHUS,
Episcopus S. Hippolyti,
Secretarius Concilii Vaticani.

And since it is not sufficient to shun heretical pravity, unless those errors also be diligently avoided which more or less nearly approach it, We admonish all men of the further duty of observing those constitutions and decrees, by which such erroneous opinions as are not here specifically enumerated, have been proscribed and condemned by this Holy See.

Given at Rome in Public Session solemnly held in the Vatican Basilica in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and seventy, on the twenty-fourth day of April, in the twenty-fourth year of our Pontificate.

In conformity with the original.

JOSEPH, *Bishop of St. Polten,*
Secretary of the Vatican Council.

CONSTITUTIO DOGMATICA PRIMA DE ECCLESIA CHRISTI

PIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI, SACRO APPROBANTE CONCILIO AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Pastor aeternus et episcopus animarum nostrarum, ut salutiferum redemptionis opus perenne redderet, sanctam aedificare Ecclesiam decrevit, in qua veluti in domo Dei viventis fideles omnes unius fidei et charitatis vinculo continerentur. Quapropter, priusquam clarificaretur, rogavit Patrem non pro Apostolis tantum, sed et pro eis, qui crediturí erant per verbum eorum in ipsum, ut omnes unum essent, sicut ipse Filius et Pater unum sunt. Quemadmodum igitur Apostolos, quos sibi de mundo elegerat, misit, sicut ipse missus erat a Patre : ita in Ecclesia sua Pastores et Doctores usque ad consummationem saeculi esse voluit. Ut vero episcopatus ipse unus et indivisus esset, et per cohaerentes sibi invicem sacerdotes credentium multitudo universa in fidei et communionis unitate conservaretur, beatum Petrum caeteris Apostolis praeponens in ipso instituit perpetuum utriusque unitatis principium ac visibile fundamentum, super cuius fortitudinem aeternum exstrueretur templum, et Ecclesiae coelo inferenda sublimitas in huius fidei firmitate

FIRST DOGMATIC CONSTITUTION ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

PIUS, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE SACRED COUNCIL, FOR A PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE

THE Eternal Pastor and Bishop of our souls, in order to continue for all time the life-giving work of His Redemption, determined to build up the Holy Church, wherein, as in the House of the living God, all who believe might be united in the bond of one faith and one charity. Wherefore, before He entered into His glory, He prayed unto the Father, not for the Apostles only, but for those also who through their preaching should come to believe in Him, that all might be one even as He the Son and the Father are one.[1] As then He sent the Apostles whom He had chosen to Himself from the world, as He Himself had been sent by the Father: so He willed that there should ever be pastors and teachers in His Church to the end of the world. And in order that the Episcopate also might be one and undivided, and that by means of a closely united priesthood the multitude of the faithful might be kept secure in the oneness of faith and communion, He set Blessed Peter over the rest of the Apostles, and fixed in him the abiding principle of this twofold unity, and its visible foundation, in the strength of which the everlasting temple should arise, and the Church in the firmness of that faith should lift her

[1] St. John xvii. 21.

consurgeret.[1] Et quoniam portae inferi ad evertendam, si fieri posset, Ecclesiam contra eius fundamentum divinitus positum maiori in dies odio undique insurgunt; Nos ad catholici gregis custodiam, incolumitatem, augmentum, necessarium esse iudicamus, sacro approbante Concilio, doctrinam de institutione, perpetuitate, ac natura sacri Apostolici primatus, in quo totius Ecclesiae vis ac soliditas consistit, cunctis fidelibus credendam et tenendam, secundum antiquam atque constantem universalis Ecclesiae fidem, proponere, atque contrarios, dominico gregi adeo perniciosos, errores proscribere et condemnare.

CAPUT I

DE APOSTOLICI PRIMATUS IN BEATO PETRO INSTITUTIONE

Docemus itaque et declaramus, iuxta Evangelii testimonia, primatum iurisdictionis in universam Dei Ecclesiam immediate et directe beato Petro Apostolo promissum atque collatum a Christo Domino fuisse. Unum enim Simonem, cui iam pridem dixerat: Tu vocaberis Cephas,[2] postquam ille suam edidit confessionem inquiens: Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, solemnibus his verbis allocutus est Dominus: Beatus es Simon Bar-Iona: quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus, qui in coelis est: et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversus eam: et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum: et quodcumque ligaveris

[1] S. Leo M. Serm. iv (al. iii), cap. 2, in diem Natalis sui.
[2] Ioan. i. 42.

majestic front to Heaven.[1] And seeing that the gates of hell with daily increase of hatred are gathering their strength on every side to upheave the foundation laid by God's own hand, and so, if that might be, to overthrow the Church: We, therefore, for the preservation, safe-keeping, and increase of the Catholic flock, with the approval of the Sacred Council, do judge it to be necessary to propose to the belief and acceptance of all the faithful, in accordance with the ancient and constant faith of the universal Church, the doctrine touching the institution, perpetuity, and nature of the sacred Apostolic Primacy, in which is found the strength and solidity of the entire Church; and at the same time to proscribe and condemn the contrary errors, so hurtful to the flock of Christ.

CHAPTER I

OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE APOSTOLIC PRIMACY IN BLESSED PETER

We therefore teach and declare that, according to the testimony of the Gospel, the primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church of God was immediately and directly promised and given to Blessed Peter the Apostle by Christ the Lord. For it was to Simon alone, to whom He had already said: 'Thou shalt be called Cephas,'[2] that the Lord, after the confession made by him, saying: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' addressed these solemn words: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; because flesh and blood have not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in Heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou

[1] From Sermon iv, chap. ii, of St. Leo the Great, A.D. 440, vol. i, p. 17, of edition of Ballerini, Venice 1753; read in the eighth lection on the Feast of St. Peter's Chair at Antioch, February 22.

[2] St. John i. 42.

super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis : et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in coelis.[1] Atque uni Simoni Petro contulit Iesus post suam resurrectionem summi pastoris et rectoris iurisdictionem in totum suum ovile, dicens : Pasce agnos meos : pasce oves meas.[2] Huic tam manifestae sacrarum Scripturarum doctrinae, ut ab Ecclesia catholica semper intellecta est, aperte opponuntur pravae eorum sententiae, qui constitutam a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia regiminis formam pervertentes negant, solum Petrum prae caeteris Apostolis, sive seorsum singulis sive omnibus simul, vero proprioque iurisdictionis primatu fuisse a Christo instructum ; aut qui affirmant, eundem primatum non immediate directeque ipsi beato Petro, sed Ecclesiae, et per hanc illi ut ipsius Ecclesiae ministro delatum fuisse.

Si quis igitur dixerit, beatum Petrum Apostolum non esse a Christo Domino constitutum Apostolorum omnium principem et totius Ecclesiae militantis visibile caput ; vel eundem honoris tantum, non autem verae propriaeque iurisdictionis primatum ab eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo directe et immediate accepisse ; anathema sit.

CAPUT II

DE PERPETUITATE PRIMATUS BEATI PETRI IN ROMANIS PONTIFICIBUS

Quod autem in beato Apostolo Petro princeps pastorum et pastor magnus ovium Dominus Christus Iesus in perpetuam salutem ac perenne bonum Ecclesiae instituit, id, eodem auctore, in Ecclesia, quae fundata super petram ad finem saeculorum usque firma stabit, iugiter durare necesse est. Nulli sane dubium, imo saeculis omnibus notum est, quod sanctus beatissimusque Petrus, Apostolorum princeps et caput, fideique columna et Ecclesiae catholicae fundamen-

[1] Matth. xvi. 16-19.
[2] Ioan. xxi. 15-17.

shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.'[1] And it was upon Simon alone that Jesus after His resurrection bestowed the jurisdiction of Chief Pastor and Ruler over all His fold in the words: 'Feed my lambs: feed my sheep.'[2] At open variance with this clear doctrine of Holy Scripture, as it has been ever understood by the Catholic Church, are the perverse opinions of those who, while they distort the form of government established by Christ the Lord in His Church, deny that Peter in his single person, preferably to all the other Apostles, whether taken separately or together, was endowed by Christ with a true and proper primacy of jurisdiction; or of those who assert that the same primacy was not bestowed immediately and directly upon Blessed Peter himself, but upon the Church, and through the Church on Peter as her Minister.

If anyone, therefore, shall say that Blessed Peter the Apostle was not appointed the Prince of all the Apostles and the visible Head of the whole Church Militant; or that he directly and immediately received from the same our Lord Jesus Christ a primacy of honour only, and not of true and proper jurisdiction; let him be anathema.

CHAPTER II

ON THE PERPETUITY OF THE PRIMACY OF BLESSED PETER IN THE ROMAN PONTIFFS

That which the Prince of Shepherds and great Shepherd of the sheep, Jesus Christ our Lord, established in the person of the Blessed Apostle Peter to secure the perpetual welfare and lasting good of the Church, must, by the same institution, necessarily remain unceasingly in the Church, which, being founded upon a Rock, will stand firm to the end of the world. For none can doubt, and it is known to all ages, that the holy and Blessed Peter, the Prince and Chief of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith and foundation

[1] St. Matthew xvi. 16-19.
[2] St. John xxi. 15-17.

tum, a Domino nostro Iesu Christo, Salvatore humani generis ac Redemptore, claves regni accepit: qui ad hoc usque tempus et semper in suis successoribus, episcopis sanctae Romanae Sedis, ab ipso fundatae, eiusque consecratae sanguine, vivet et praesidet et iudicium exercet.[1] Unde quicumque in hac cathedra Petro succedit, is secundum Christi ipsius institutionem primatum Petri in universam Ecclesiam obtinet. Manet ergo dispositio veritatis, et beatus Petrus in accepta fortitudine petrae perseverans suscepta Ecclesiae gubernacula non reliquit.[2] Hac de causa ad Romanam Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse semper fuit omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fideles, ut in ea Sede, e qua venerandae communionis iura in omnes dimanant, tamquam membra in capite consociata, in unam corporis compagem coalescerent.[3]

Si quis ergo dixerit, non esse ex ipsius Christi Domini institutione seu iure divino, ut beatus Petrus in primatu super universam Ecclesiam habeat perpetuos successores; aut Romanum Pontificem non esse beati Petri in eodem primatu successorem; anathema sit.

[1] Cf. Ephesini Concilii Act. iii.
[2] S. Leo M. Serm. iii (al. ii), cap. 3.
[3] S. Iren. adv. Haer. l. iii. c. 3, et Conc. Aquilei. a. 381. inter epp. S. Ambros. ep. xi.

of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, and lives, presides, and judges, to this day and always, in his successors the Bishops of the Holy See of Rome, which was founded by him, and consecrated by his blood.[1] Whence, whosoever succeeds to Peter in this See, does by the institution of Christ Himself obtain the Primacy of Peter over the whole Church. The disposition made by Incarnate Truth therefore remains, and Blessed Peter, abiding in the strength of the Rock that he received, has not given up the direction of the Church, undertaken by him.[2] Wherefore it has at all times been necessary that every Church—that is to say, the faithful throughout the world —should agree with the Roman Church, on account of its more powerful principality; that in that See, from which the rights of communion flow forth to all, being associated as members with the head, they may grow together unto one compacted body.[3]

If, then, anyone shall say that it is not by the institution of Christ the Lord, or by divine right, that Blessed Peter should have a perpetual line of successors in the Primacy over the Universal Church; or that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor of Blessed Peter in this Primacy; let him be anathema.

[1] From the Acts (session third) of the Third General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, Labbé's *Councils*, vol. iii, p. 1154, Venice edition of 1728. See also letter of St. Peter Chrysologus to Eutyches, in life prefixed to his works, p. 13, Venice 1750.

[2] From Sermon iii, chap. iii, of St. Leo the Great, vol. i, p. 12.

[3] From St. Irenaeus against Heresies, book iii, cap. iii, p. 175, Benedictine edition, Venice 1734; and Acts of Synod of Aquileia, A.D. 381, Labbé's *Councils*, vol. ii, p. 1185, Venice 1728.

CAPUT III

DE VI ET RATIONE PRIMATUS ROMANI PONTIFICIS

Quapropter apertis innixi sacrarum litterarum testimoniis, et inhaerentes tum Praedecessorum Nostrorum, Romanorum Pontificum, tum Conciliorum generalium disertis, perspicuisque decretis, innovamus oecumenici Concilii Florentini definitionem, qua credendum ab omnibus Christi fidelibus est, sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri Principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere ; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Iesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse ; quemadmodum etiam in gestis oecumenicorum Conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur.

Docemus proinde et declaramus, Ecclesiam Romanam, disponente Domino, super omnes alias ordinariae potestatis obtinere principatum, et hanc Romani Pontificis iurisdictionis potestatem, quae vere episcopalis est, immediatam esse : erga quam cuiuscumque ritus et dignitatis pastores atque fideles, tam seorsum singuli quam simul omnes, officio hierarchicae subordinationis, veraeque obedientiae obstringuntur, non solum in rebus, quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent ; ita ut custodita cum Romano Pontifice tam communionis, quam eiusdem fidei professionis unitate, Ecclesia Christi sit unus grex sub uno summo pastore. Haec est catholicae veritatis doctrina, a qua deviare salva fide atque salute, nemo potest.

Tantum autem abest, ut haec Summi Pontificis potestas officiat ordinariae ac immediatae illi episcopalis iurisdictionis potestati, qua Episcopi, qui positi a Spiritu Sancto in Apos-

CHAPTER III

ON THE POWER AND NATURE OF THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF

Wherefore, resting on plain testimonies of the Sacred Writings, and adhering to the plain and express decrees both of our Predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs, and of the General Councils, We renew the definition of the Œcumenical Council of Florence, in virtue of which all the faithful of Christ must believe that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff possesses the primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and is true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that full power was given to him in Blessed Peter to feed, rule, and govern the Universal Church by Jesus Christ our Lord: as is also contained in the acts of the General Councils and in the Sacred Canons.

Hence we teach and declare that by the appointment of our Lord the Roman Church possesses a superiority of ordinary power over all other Churches, and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; to which all, of whatever rite and dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individually and collectively, are bound, by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, to submit, not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world, so that the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme pastor through the preservation of unity both of communion and of profession of the same faith with the Roman Pontiff. This is the teaching of Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate without loss of faith and of salvation.

But so far is this power of the Supreme Pontiff from being any prejudice to the ordinary and immediate power of episcopal jurisdiction, by which Bishops, who have been

tolorum locum successerunt, tamquam veri pastores assignatos sibi greges, singuli singulos, pascunt et regunt, ut eadem a supremo et universali Pastore asseratur, roboretur ac vindicetur, secundum illud sancti Gregorii Magni : Meus honor est honor universalis Ecclesiae. Meus honor est fratrum meorum solidus vigor. Tum ego vere honoratus sum, cum singulis quibusque honor debitus non negatur.[1]

Porro ex suprema illa Romani Pontificis potestate gubernandi universam Ecclesiam ius eidem esse consequitur, in huius sui muneris exercitio libere communicandi cum pastoribus et gregibus totius Ecclesiae, ut iidem ab ipso in via salutis doceri ac regi possint. Quare damnamus ac reprobamus illorum sententias, qui hanc supremi capitis cum pastoribus et gregibus communicationem licite impediri posse dicunt, aut eandem reddunt saeculari potestati obnoxiam, ita ut contendant, quae ab Apostolica Sede vel eius auctoritate ad regimen Ecclesiae constituuntur, vim ac valorem non habere, nisi potestatis saecularis placito confirmentur.

Et quoniam divino Apostolici primatus iure Romanus Pontifex universae Ecclesiae praeest, docemus etiam et declaramus, eum esse iudicem supremum fidelium,[2] et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius posse iudicium recurri ;[3] Sedis vero Apostolicae, cuius auctoritate maior non est, iudicium a nemine fore retractandum, neque cuiquam de eius licere iudicare iudicio.[4] Quare a

[1] Ep. ad. Eulog. Alexandrin. l. viii, ep. xxx.
[2] Pii PP. VI. Breve, *Super soliditate*, d. 28 Nov. 1786.
[3] Concil. Oecum. Lugdun. II.
[4] Ep. Nicolai I, ad Michaelem Imperatorem.

set by the Holy Ghost to succeed and hold the place of the Apostles,[1] feed and govern, each his own flock, as true Pastors, that this their episcopal authority is really asserted, strengthened, and protected by the supreme and universal Pastor; in accordance with the words of St. Gregory the Great: 'My honour is the honour of the whole Church. My honour is the firm strength of my brethren. I am truly honoured, when the honour due to each and all is not withheld.'[2]

Further, from this supreme power possessed by the Roman Pontiff of governing the Universal Church, it follows that he has the right of free communication with the Pastors of the whole Church, and with their flocks, that these may be taught and ruled by him in the way of salvation. Wherefore we condemn and reject the opinions of those who hold that the communication between this supreme Head and the Pastors and their flocks can lawfully be impeded; or who make this communication subject to the will of the secular power, so as to maintain that whatever is done by the Apostolic See, or by its authority, for the government of the Church, cannot have force or value unless it be confirmed by the assent of the secular power. And since by the divine right of Apostolic primacy, the Roman Pontiff is placed over the Universal Church, we further teach and declare that he is the supreme judge of the faithful,[3] and that in all causes, the decision of which belongs to the Church, recourse may be had to his tribunal,[4] and that none may re-open the judgement of the Apostolic See, than whose authority there is no greater, nor can any lawfully review its judgement.[5] Wherefore they err from the right

[1] From chap. iv of xxxiii session of Council of Trent, 'Of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy'.

[2] From the letters of St. Gregory the Great, book viii, 30, vol. ii, p. 919, Benedictine edition, Paris 1705.

[3] From a Brief of Pius VI, *Super soliditate*, of November 28, 1786.

[4] From the Acts of the Fourteenth General Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274, Labbé's *Councils*, vol. xiv, p. 512.

[5] From Letter viii of Pope Nicholas I, A.D. 858, to the Emperor Michael, in Labbé's *Councils*, vol. ix, pp. 1339 and 1570.

recto veritatis tramite aberrant, qui affirmant, licere ab iudiciis Romanorum Pontificum ad Oecumenicum Concilium tamquam ad auctoritatem Romano Pontifice superiorem appellare.

Si quis itaque dixerit, Romanum Pontificem habere tantummodo officium inspectionis vel directionis, non autem plenam et supremam potestatem iurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam, non solum in rebus, quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent; aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem huius supremae potestatis; aut hanc eius potestatem non esse ordinariam et immediatam sive in omnes ac singulas ecclesias, sive in omnes et singulos pastores et fideles; anathema sit.

CAPUT IV

DE ROMANI PONTIFICIS INFALLIBILI MAGISTERIO

Ipso autem Apostolico primatu, quem Romanus Pontifex tamquam Petri principis Apostolorum successor in universam Ecclesiam obtinet, supremam quoque magisterii potestatem comprehendi, haec Sancta Sedes semper tenuit, perpetuus Ecclesiae usus comprobat, ipsaque oecumenica Concilia, ea imprimis, in quibus Oriens cum Occidente in fidei charitatisque unionem conveniebat, declaraverunt. Patres enim Concilii Constantinopolitani quarti, maiorum vestigiis inhaerentes, hanc solemnem ediderunt professionem: Prima salus est, rectae fidei regulam custodire. Et quia non potest Domini nostri Iesu Christi praetermitti sententia dicentis: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, haec, quae dicta sunt, rerum probantur effectibus, quia in Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper catholica reservata religio, et sancta celebrata doctrina. Ab huius ergo fide et doctrina separari minime

path of truth who assert that it is lawful to appeal from the judgements of the Roman Pontiffs to an Œcumenical Council, as to an authority higher than that of the Roman Pontiff.

If then anyone shall say that the Roman Pontiff has the office merely of inspection or direction, but not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the Universal Church, not only in things which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world; or that he possesses merely the principal part, and not all the fullness of this supreme power; or that this power which he enjoys is not ordinary and immediate, both over each and all the Churches and over each and all the Pastors and the faithful; let him be anathema.

CHAPTER IV

CONCERNING THE INFALLIBLE MAGISTERIUM OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF

Moreover, that the supreme power of teaching is also included in the Apostolic primacy, which the Roman Pontiff, as the successor of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, possesses over the whole Church, this Holy See has always held, the perpetual practice of the Church confirms, and Œcumenical Councils also have declared, especially those in which the East with the West met in the union of faith and charity. For the Fathers of the Fourth Council of Constantinople, following in the footsteps of their predecessors, gave forth this solemn profession: The first condition of salvation is to keep the rule of the true faith. And because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed by, who said: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church,'[1] these things which have been said are approved by events, because in the Apostolic See the Catholic Religion has always been kept undefiled, and its holy doctrine proclaimed. Desiring, therefore, not to be in the least degree separated from the faith and doctrine of that See, we hope

[1] St. Matthew, xvi. 18.

cupientes, speramus ut in una communione, quam Sedes Apostolica praedicat, esse mereamur, in qua est integra et vera Christianae religionis soliditas.[1] Approbante vero Lugdunensi Concilio secundo, Graeci professi sunt: Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam summum et plenum primatum et principatum super universam Ecclesiam catholicam obtinere, quem se ab ipso Domino in beato Petro Apostolorum Principe sive vertice, cuius Romanus Pontifex est successor, cum potestatis plenitudine recepisse veraciter et humiliter recognoscit; et sicut prae caeteris tenetur fidei veritatem defendere, sic et, si quae de fide subortae fuerint quaestiones, suo debent iudicio definiri. Florentinum denique Concilium definivit: Pontificem Romanum, verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Iesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse.

Huic pastorali muneri ut satisfacerent, Praedecessores Nostri indefessam semper operam dederunt, ut salutaris Christi doctrina apud omnes terrae populos propagaretur, parique cura vigilarunt, ut, ubi recepta esset, sincera et pura conservaretur. Quocirca totius orbis Antistites nunc singuli, nunc in Synodis congregati, longam ecclesiarum consuetudinem et antiquae regulae formam sequentes, ea praesertim pericula, quae in negotiis fidei emergebant, ad hanc Sedem Apostolicam retulerunt, ut ibi potissimum resarci-

[1] Ex formula S. Hormisdae Papae, prout ab Hadriano II, Patribus Concilii Oecumenici VIII, Constantinopolitani IV, proposita et ab iisdem subscripta est, A.D., 869.

that we may deserve to be in the one communion, which the Apostolic See preaches, in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion.[1] And, with the approval of the Second Council of Lyons, the Greeks professed that the Holy Roman Church enjoys supreme and full primacy and pre-eminence over the whole Catholic Church, which it truly and humbly recognizes that it has received with the plenitude of power from our Lord Himself in the person of blessed Peter, Prince or Head of the Apostles, whose successor the Roman Pontiff is; and as the Apostolic See is bound before all others to defend the truth of faith, so also if any questions regarding faith shall arise, they must be defined by its judgement.[2] Finally, the Council of Florence defined: That the Roman Pontiff is the true Vicar of Christ, and the Head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him in blessed Peter was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the Universal Church.[3]

To satisfy this pastoral duty our Predecessors ever made unwearied efforts that the salutary doctrine of Christ might be propagated among all the nations of the earth, and with equal care watched that it might be preserved genuine and pure where it had been received. Therefore the Bishops of the whole world, now singly, now assembled in Synods, following the long-established custom of Churches,[4] and the form of the ancient rule,[5] sent word to this Apostolic See of those dangers especially which sprang up in matters of faith, that the losses of faith might there be most

[1] From the Formula of St. Hormisdas, subscribed by the Fathers of the Eighth General Council (Fourth of Constantinople), A.D. 869. Labbé's *Councils*, vol. v, pp. 583, 622.

[2] From the Acts of the Fourteenth General Council (Second of Lyons), A.D. 1274. Labbé, vol. xiv, p. 512.

[3] From the Acts of the Seventeenth General Council of Florence, A.D. 1438. Labbé, vol. xviii, p. 526.

[4] From a letter of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Pope St. Celestine I, A.D. 422, vol. vi, part ii, p. 36, Paris edition of 1638.

[5] From a Rescript of St. Innocent I, to the Council of Milevis, A.D. 402. Labbé, vol. iii, p. 47.

rentur damna fidei, ubi fides non potest sentire defectum.[1] Romani autem Pontifices, prout temporum et rerum conditio suadebat, nunc convocatis oecumenicis Conciliis aut explorata Ecclesiae per orbem dispersae sententia, nunc per Synodos particulares, nunc aliis, quae divina suppeditabat providentia, adhibitis auxiliis, ea tenenda definiverunt, quae sacris Scripturis et apostolicis Traditionibus consentanea, Deo adiutore, cognoverant. Neque enim Petri successoribus Spiritus Sanctus promissus est, ut eo revelante novam doctrinam patefacerent, sed ut eo assistente traditam per Apostolos revelationem seu fidei depositum sancte custodirent et fideliter exponerent. Quorum quidem apostolicam doctrinam omnes venerabiles Patres amplexi et sancti Doctores orthodoxi venerati atque secuti sunt; plenissime scientes, hanc sancti Petri Sedem ab omni semper errore illibatam permanere, secundum Domini Salvatoris nostri divinam pollicitationem discipulorum suorum principi factam: Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua: et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.[2]

Hoc igitur veritatis et fidei numquam deficientis charisma Petro eiusque in hac Cathedra successoribus divinitus collatum est, ut excelso suo munere in omnium salutem fungerentur, ut universus Christi grex per eos ab erroris venenosa esca aversus, coelestis doctrinae pabulo nutriretur, ut sublata schismatis occasione Ecclesia tota una conservaretur, atque suo fundamento innixa firma adversus inferi portas consisteret.

Atvero cum hac ipsa aetate, qua salutifera Apostolici muneris efficacia vel maxime requiritur, non pauci inveniantur, qui illius auctoritati obtrectant; necessarium omnino esse censemus, praerogativam, quam unigenitus Dei Filius cum summo pastorali officio coniungere dignatus est, solemniter asserere.

[1] Cf. S. Bern. Epist. cxc.
[2] Luc. xxii. 32.

effectually repaired where the faith cannot fail.[1] And the Roman Pontiffs, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, sometimes assembling Œcumenical Councils, or asking for the mind of the Church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular Synods, sometimes using other helps which Divine Providence supplied, defined as to be held those things which with the help of God they had recognized as conformable with the Sacred Scriptures and Apostolic Traditions. For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter that by His revelation they might make known new doctrine, but that by His assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the Apostles. And indeed all the venerable Fathers have embraced and the holy orthodox Doctors have venerated and followed their Apostolic doctrine ; knowing most fully that this See of holy Peter remains ever free from all blemish of error according to the divine promise of the Lord our Saviour made to the Prince of His disciples : 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and, when thou art converted, do thou confirm thy brethren.'[2]

This gift, then, of truth and never-failing faith was conferred by Heaven upon Peter and his successors in this Chair, that they might perform their high office unto the salvation of all ; that the whole flock of Christ kept away by them from the poisonous food of error, might be nourished with the pasture of heavenly doctrine ; that the occasion of schism being removed the whole Church might be kept one, and, resting on its foundation, might stand firm against the gates of hell.

But since in this very age, in which the salutary efficacy of the Apostolic office is most of all required, not a few are found who take away from its authority, We judge it altogether necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the only-begotten Son of God vouchsafed to join with the supreme pastoral office.

[1] From a letter of St. Bernard to Pope Innocent II, A.D. 1130. Epist. 191, vol. iv, p. 433, Paris edition of 1742.

[2] St. Luke xxii. 32. See also the Acts of the Sixth General Council, A.D. 680, Labbé, vol. vii, p. 659.

Itaque Nos traditioni a fidei Christianae exordio perceptae fideliter inhaerendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicae exaltationem et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus : Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedra loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promissam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit ; ideoque eiusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae irreformabiles esse.

Si quis autem huic Nostrae definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, praesumpserit ; anathema sit.

Datum Romae, in publica Sessione in Vaticana Basilica solemniter celebrata anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo septuagesimo, die decima octava Iulii. Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quinto.

Ita est.

JOSEPHUS,
Episcopus S. Hippolyti,
Secretarius Concilii Vaticani.

Therefore faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic Religion, and the salvation of Christian peoples, the Sacred Council approving, We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals: and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church.

But if any one—which may God avert—presume to contradict this Our definition; let him be anathema.

Given at Rome in Public Session solemnly held in the Vatican Basilica in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and seventy, on the eighteenth day of July, in the twenty-fifth year of our Pontificate.

In conformity with the original.

JOSEPH, *Bishop of St. Polten,*
Secretary of the Vatican Council.

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July 13.	Trial ballot.
July 16.	Amendments dealt with.
July 18.	Fourth Public Session. Constitution on Papacy enacted.
Oct. 20.	Council prorogued *sine die*.

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